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Practices of Listening to Music. Classical Concerts in Lisbon: A Public Dimension

Roman Korolev-Namazov

PhD in Anthropology

Dr. Nélia Susana Dias, Assoc. Prof. (with habilitation)
Iscte – University Institute of Lisbon

October, 2024

Department of Anthropology (Iscte-IUL ECSH)

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...And a terrible thing is music in general. What is it? Why does it do what it does? They say that music stirs the soul. Stupidity! A lie! It acts, it acts frightfully (I speak for myself), but not in an ennobling way. It acts neither in an ennobling nor a debasing way, but in an irritating way. How shall I say it? Music makes me forget my real situation. It transports me into a state which is not my own. Under the influence of music, I really seem to feel what I do not feel, to understand what I do not understand, to have powers which I cannot have. Music seems to me to act like yawning or laughter; I have no desire to sleep, but I yawn when I see others yawn; with no reason to laugh, I laugh when I hear others laugh.

Leo Tolstoy. The Kreutzer Sonata. Chapter 23.
Translated from Russian by Isabel Florence Hapgood

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the listening practices of classical concert audiences in Lisbon, examining them within the social, spatial, and aesthetic dimensions. It challenges the traditional view of classical concerts as an isolated cultural domain by exploring the diverse ways individuals engage with classical music and proposing new approaches to understand classical concert experience through the audience perspective.

The research adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining anthropology, sociology, musicology, philosophy, and cultural and sound studies. It is based on ethnographic data collected through participant observation and interviews at key Lisbon concert venues, notably *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* and *Centro Cultural de Belém*. The methodology includes qualitative analysis of listening habits, audience engagement, and concert rituals.

The findings reveal a complex interplay between classical music listeners and the concert environment, shaped by embodied listening techniques that are represented socially and physically. The dissertation shows how audience segmentation is influenced by adherence to concert rituals. It highlights distinct listening practices of different audience groups, comparing their taste preferences and motives for attendance. It explores aspects such as dress code acceptance and familiarity with the concert space, listening preparation strategies, interpretation and evaluation modifies.

This thesis underscores the dynamic and evolving nature of classical concert culture in Lisbon. It argues for a reevaluation of the classical music concert experience as a cultural phenomenon that extends beyond elitist features, emphasizing the need for inclusive, socially aware approaches to understanding audience interaction and music perception in contemporary settings.

Keywords: listening, classical music, concert, performance, public.

Resumo

Esta tese investiga as práticas de escuta do público de concertos de música clássica em Lisboa e examina-as nas dimensões social, espacial e estética. Desafia a visão tradicional dos concertos clássicos como um domínio cultural isolado, ao explorar as diversas formas como os indivíduos se envolvem com a música clássica e ao propor novas abordagens para compreender a experiência dos concertos clássicos através da perspectiva do público.

A investigação adopta uma abordagem interdisciplinar, combinando antropologia, sociologia, musicologia, filosofia e estudos da cultura e do som. Baseia-se em dados etnográficos recolhidos através de observação participante e entrevistas nas principais salas de concerto de Lisboa, nomeadamente a Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian e o Centro Cultural de Belém. A metodologia inclui uma análise qualitativa dos hábitos de escuta, do envolvimento do público e os rituais de concerto.

Os resultados revelam uma interação complexa entre os ouvintes de música clássica e o ambiente de concerto, moldada por técnicas de escuta corporizadas que são representadas social e fisicamente. A dissertação mostra como a segmentação do público é influenciada pela adesão aos rituais de concerto. Destaca as práticas de escuta distintas de diferentes grupos de público, comparando as suas preferências de gosto e motivos para assistir a concertos. Explora aspectos como a aceitação do código de vestuário e a familiaridade com o espaço de concerto, as estratégias de preparação da escuta e os modos de interpretação e avaliação.

Esta tese sublinha a natureza dinâmica e evolutiva da cultura de concertos clássicos em Lisboa. Defende uma reavaliação da experiência do concerto de música clássica como um fenómeno cultural que se estende para além dos traços elitistas, enfatizando a necessidade de abordagens inclusivas e socialmente conscientes para compreender a interação do público e a percepção da música em ambientes contemporâneos.

Palavras-chave: escuta, música clássica, concerto, espetáculo, público.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This PhD dissertation focuses on music, arguably the most expressive and metaphorically rich of the performing arts. Central to this study is the notion of music experience, which "takes place of the margins of truth, and thus borders more on magic than on empirical science" (Jankélévich 2003, p. 1). This experience is rooted in the energies of aesthetic creation, which often elude concrete understanding, not only by musicians but also by those for whom music is performed. Therein lies the ambiguity of this research and its fascination.

1.1. Research Topic and Its Relevance

This dissertation provides an academic perspective on what constitutes listening to music. Music as a phenomenon that exists by and for people, being a system of "humanly organized sounds" (Blacking 2000, p. 10), is inherently linked to human existence. It possesses its history, dynamics, and structure. These aspects extend the mere creation of musical compositions or the performance – they are significantly influenced by the listener and the interpreter, who endow sounds with meaning. It is this interpretive act that ultimately categorizes these sounds as music.

The central topic of this research is Western classical music, a domain that is accessible and familiar to many, yet distinct in its form of organization. It encompasses unique traditions, a particular social code, and defined cultural values. In contemporary settings, such as concerts, classical music is undergoing a dynamic transformation. This evolution reflects the changing contours of modern artistic life, evolving audience preferences, and changes in social status. Contemporary scholars from diverse fields such as anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and cultural and sound studies address pertinent questions, such as how classical music is perceived and experienced by today's audiences and what the significance of listening to classical works, originating from various historical periods and composed by eminent musicians, holds for

contemporary concertgoers. These inquiries delve into the changing relationship between classical music and its listeners in the current era, which is the main research topic.

1.2. Guiding Questions and Research Problems

This study draws from the notion that the experience of listening to music is less about the aesthetic qualities of the sound and more about the individual or collective perceptual capabilities (Chion 2019; Erlmann 2010; Goodman 2010). This approach shifts the discourse on music perception away from broad, general explanatory models towards a more nuanced analysis grounded in human experience, as music, in one of its dimensions, acts as a reflection of auditory culture, embodying what can be described as "a lived theory of the auditory that becomes a lived practice" (Kramer 2018, p. 78). This focus emphasizes the importance of identifying and understanding the specific practices individuals engage in while interacting with musical objects, which in turn shaping their unique perceptual abilities.

This research considers two primary areas of focus. The first is to examine the complex relationship between classical music and various aspects of social interaction, including established norms of behavior and the symbolic values they represent. The second area aims to reevaluate the traditional discourse on classical music, which has predominantly been the domain of musicologists and ethnomusicologists. This approach, which "places the perceiver at the center of meaning" (Johnson 1995, p. 2), paves the way for an in-depth exploration of public behavior at concerts. Additionally, this perspective acknowledges the engagement of both amateur and skilled listeners in the classical music environment.

It is essential to explore possible answers to the questions: how do modern listeners interpret the essence of music and what constitutes classical music in their perception? Furthermore, the extent to which the assertion that "music in general becomes something to get excited about but not to take too seriously" (Kramer 2007, p. 3) holds true warrants examination. All of this raises the burning question of the digitalization of music, which has significantly transformed perceptive capabilities, subsequently impacting the practices associated with listening to classical music. The emergence of new media technologies and streaming services has given rise to novel modes of engaging with classical music, which merits careful exploration and analysis.

However, despite various pessimistic forecasts about the future of classical music, which are "marked by demographic change, a general decline of the bourgeois lifestyle, a globalization of tastes, and a digitalization that makes sound, music, and the listening experience mobile on all levels" (Thorau and Ziemer 2019, p. 17), the experience of attending concerts in concert halls continues to hold significant value for listeners. But what motivates individuals to attend live music performances in specific venues? Does the space of the concert hall itself shape the listening experience and what conditions it imposes on listening practices? How can the experiences of classical music listeners be characterized within the broader spectrum of music practices, and what significance does live classical music hold for them?

1.3. Object of Research

This study explores the ways in which individuals engage with classical music in public environments, such as classical concerts. In this case, it refers to classical music concerts in Lisbon, held at the city's main concert venues, such as *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* and *Centro Cultural de Belém*, as well as at various alternative locations like museums, churches, and universities. Over time, listeners' habits and their abilities to perceive music have transformed from the early days of public concerts. The study, based on the local case, explores the distinctive importance of classical music listening, highlighting a shift in the behavior of the broader "cultural" public emerging in the early 19th century, a phenomenon that continues to carry its relevance in contemporary contexts, especially when it comes to a silent mode of listening.

The act of silent listening arose within a particular historical backdrop, serving a unique purpose: to understand music. This viewpoint assigns a distinct role to the audience in the realm of musical performances, where "the musical work is taken to exist for the sake of a 'listener', in the singular. It is directed outward, toward that listener, who is outside it, rather than inward toward the performers" (Small 1998, p. 154). Listening to music is seen as a means of acquiring cultural competencies that individuals cultivate throughout their lives, enabling them to uncover various interpretations within the act of musical performance.

The significance of listening to classical music goes beyond a specific public demeanor intertwined with the aesthetic characteristics of this art form. It includes a distinct mode of listening experienced by those attending concerts. This manner of engaging with music,

embraced by enthusiasts, is based on the idea that "music is never simply heard; it comes to us through practices of listening that help form our sense of the world" (Kramer 2007, p. 10). Listening to music is not passive but an active pursuit, a core focus of this research. Therefore, understanding listening involves considering its embodied aspects, encompassing the necessary arrangements and cultural and physical actions entailed in this process.

1.3.1. Research conceptualization of classical music

The term "classical music," often perceived as familiar and self-explanatory, is currently undergoing critical scrutiny and debate. In the realm of music studies, there is a prevailing tendency to employ the term "Western art music" to refer to the established repertoire and set of practices within this field. However, consensus remains elusive, offering various interpretations ranging from a strict temporal definition denoting music composed between 1750 and 1830, encapsulating the developments of the classical symphony and concert (Kennedy 2013, p. 171), to a more expansive view including specific compositions representing a "model of excellence" – such as Josquin's motets, Palestrina's masses, Couperin's suites, Corelli's concertos, Handel's oratorios, and Schubert's lieder (Sadie 2001b, p. 924). For some, the term "classical music" signifies music of enduring value and renown, distinct from transient works that quickly disappear from prominence (Apel 1973, pp. 175-176).

These ideas underscore the historical context employed to position this musical practice within a specific era and geographical context – an understanding utilized within the research and often accepted without question in public conversations as a universally recognized topic. Nonetheless, this study persists in examining the essence of classical music, focusing on considering what falls within the confines of this definition and what remains outside of it. The definition of classical music presents significance as "the boundaries delineating its function to accumulate value within this domain" (Bull 2019, p. xvii).

Through prior theoretical and empirical investigations (Gilmore 1987; Goehr 1992; Small 1998), classical music is identified as a system of collective conventions. This perspective characterizes classical music as a tradition that replicates a body of music written between approximately 1750 and 1950, employing traditional acoustic instruments and typically avoiding technologies developed after 1900: "The term *classical music* refers to a specific body of nontheatrical music produced since the eighteenth century with one aim in view: to be

listened to" (Kramer 2007, p. 11, italics added). This definition aligns with the "work-concept" and "composer-centeredness" concept (Goehr 1992), emphasizing the performer's endeavor to faithfully render the composer's intentions, establishing a hierarchical structure among composer, performer, and audience where the composer's vision holds precedence.

Noteworthy, classical music necessitates pedagogical approaches, often involving individualized instruction focused on acquiring "musicianship," interpretation of composer intent, proficiency in staff notation, and technical mastery of the instrument or voice (Kingsbury 1988; Green 2003). These established norms and discourses are preserved in institutions, playing a pivotal role in perpetuating this musical tradition. Through these institutional frameworks and practices, classical music's distinct aesthetic characteristics are cultivated and sustained.

1.3.2. Classical concert as a study field

While historical records show that the formalization of concert practices in England began with John Banister in 1670, who initiated paid concerts and began publishing information sheets with announcements, it is still debated when exactly public concert life began. It is widely acknowledged that the Italian harpsichordist and organist Girolamo Frescobaldi was holding public organ concerts in Venice's Cathedral of St. Paul, where tickets were openly sold, nearly half a century earlier his English colleague. Additionally, the orchestra *Collegium Musicum*, under the direction of Matthias Weckmann, was performing regularly in Hamburg from 1660 (Dukov 2003).

As it is challenging to establish the exact date of the first public concert of classical music, it is possible to explore the broader context in which these early public concerts emerged. This context includes social and cultural conditions of the time, the evolving role of music in public life, and the transformation from the private zone to public participation – all these factors contributed to the development of concert practices and retain their significance. These aspects reflect the changing relationship between musicians, audiences, and the cultural contexts in which they interacted, forming a specific research field known as "concert studies."

Concert studies offer a perspective to studying listening practices within contemporary public settings. Comparable to the scope of museum studies, concert studies aimed at the

comprehensive examination of various facets constituting a concert, including its components and the influences shaping the musical experience. Additionally, it seeks to define the structure of audiences, explore the diverse formats of concerts, trace the evolution of concert programming, and explore ways to adapt programs to contemporary audiences.

A multitude of elements influence every concert experience. These include the musicians' performance onstage, the economic aspects governing the concert, the curatorial interests of organizers and agents, the social dynamics within the concert community, the ambiance and acoustic qualities of the venue, the musicians' interpretation, the concert's staging, the emotional impact of the music on attendees, pre-concert discussions, and subsequent media discussions. Each of these factors contributes significantly to shaping the overall concert experience. The methodologies employed in this field of research are as diverse as the multifaceted issues addressed in scholarly discourse and artistic inquiry. Finally, the overarching objective of this field is "to generate insight to describe, examine, and create new possibilities for the concert" (Tröndle and Bishop 2021, p. 2).

Both classical concerts and art museums have developed various elements across centuries aimed at enhancing the aesthetic experience. However, there is a notable contrast in the approach to the aesthetic experience: while the art museum typically engages individuals in a subjective, personal encounter, the concert is a collective practice. Additionally, the concert serves as a social gathering, where established behavioral norms and anticipated concert expectations interact with the human inclination for interaction and communication. The audience's modes of listening are diverse, influenced by varying backgrounds and cultural affiliations, resulting in a fragmented set of public needs. Consequently, there is not a singular, definitive concert experience. As observed by Martin Tröndle, the German cultural sociologist and principal investigator of the project Experimental Concert Research, "concert variations must meet the requirements of the music as well as the needs of the audience. Not only is the concert a part of the interpretation, but so is the audience" (2021, p. 20). This underscores the mutual influence and interdependence between the concert performance and the audience itself in shaping the overall musical experience.

1.4. Disciplinary Challenges

Ethnomusicology, as a multidisciplinary field, examines music within its cultural context, exploring not only the sonic aspects but also the social, cognitive, biological, and comparative dimensions of music. Ethnomusicologists approach the study of music as a reflection of culture, employing a variety of immersive, observational, and analytical methods that are often drawn from disciplines such as anthropology. The discipline of ethnomusicology originated from comparative musicology, which focused on the cross-cultural study of music. Traditionally, musicology has maintained a clear distinction between Western art music and folk music, with the former being the primary focus of musicology, while the latter, along with popular music, has been the central concern of ethnomusicology.

1.4.1. Anthropological studies of music

Bearing in mind the disciplinary challenges of the research, it is important to distinguish two main approaches to ethnomusicological studies: musicological and anthropological. The musicological approach digs into the study of people and cultures to understand music itself. It involves analyzing the structure, history, stylistic elements, and cultural significance of music, treating it as the central focus of research. This approach explores how music interacts with the social and cultural dimensions of the communities where it originates. Conversely, the anthropological approach prioritizes the study of music as a tool for comprehending the associated people and cultures. It examines how music functions within cultural contexts and what insights it offers into the individuals and communities involved.

Anthropology of music uses the tools, principles, and interests of anthropology, aiming to comprehend the social and cultural structures within human groups. It investigates how music operates as an integral component of culture and social existence. The focus here is on understanding music as a part of broader cultural systems, as points out the anthropologist, ethnomusicologist, archivist, and record producer Anthony Seeger, a part of "the social and ideational structures and processes of transformation in human groups" (1987, p. xiii). Thus, anthropology of music views "music *in* culture" (ibid., p. xiii, italics added.). Anthropology examines music as an "expression" of cultural, social, and political structures, viewing it as a vehicle for conveying these dynamics rather than as an end in itself.

Ethnomusicologists, such as Alan Merriam, who follow the anthropological approach, prioritize fieldwork and participant observation as essential methods. Merriam's influential book, *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), triggers a significant shift in ethnomusicology. He urges the discipline to move beyond the technical aspects of music and explores how culture influences musical expression. Merriam emphasizes that musical sound is deeply intertwined with human behaviors, reflecting the values, attitudes, and beliefs of specific cultures. His argument stresses the connection between music and culture, showing that musical expressions are not isolated but deeply embedded within the social and cultural contexts of their origins.

This focus on exploring cultural contexts has led anthropologists to adopt a more immersive and culturally grounded approach to studying various forms of music across diverse societies worldwide. This approach involves actively engaging with the culture under investigation, often through various fieldwork practices. These practices may include direct participation in performance traditions, learning musical techniques firsthand, joining local musical groups, or immersing oneself in the social customs of the community. Through such immersive experiences, researchers seek to gain a nuanced understanding of the cultural significance of music, the social dynamics surrounding its performance, and the broader cultural meanings associated with musical expressions. By integrating into these contexts, researchers aim to develop a deeper appreciation and interpretation of music within its cultural milieu.

Merriam's approach is reflected in the works of the Canadian composer, writer, music educator, and environmentalist R. Murray Schafer and the French economic and social theorist Jacques Attali. Schafer's seminal book *Soundscape: The Tuning of the World* (1977) and Attali's *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (1985) are pivotal in recognizing the importance of environmental sounds and acoustic environments as subjects of scholarly investigation. These texts introduce the concept of the soundscape of contemporary society and its relevance to the field of political economy. Consequently, they have become central to scholars interested in exploring sound epistemologies, expanding the scope of ethnomusicological research to include a comprehensive study of soundscapes and their social implications.

This dissertation, within the domain of the anthropology of music, aligns with the tradition of scrutinizing music as a cultural phenomenon. It investigates the concert hall's soundscape as a pre-established public environment where listening practices occur. Music is regarded as an essential element within a framework shaped by its social, environmental, and aesthetic

surroundings. This approach illuminates listening as a process conditioned by technical factors, intertwined with culturally and bodily organized modes of perception.

1.4.2. Research foundations

The research builds on the ongoing epistemological progress within the anthropology of music and contemporary cultural studies of music. By examining specific listening practices, it covers critical topics such as the modes of listening, the impact of sound technologies, and the role of the listener in public settings. Through the study of classical concert audiences in Lisbon, this research investigates how individuals interact with and are shaped by music within their social and technological environments. Employing an interdisciplinary approach that integrates elements of anthropology, musicology, and cultural and sound studies, it addresses important questions about the complex nature of listening practices and their wider significance today. This positioning places it at the forefront of addressing relevant issues in the field.

Developing a methodological framework to analyze the behaviors and habits of classical concert audiences in Lisbon is essential for interpreting the ethnographic data gathered at the city's primary venues for such concerts, particularly the FCG and CCB. This data includes a wide range of observations and interviews, spanning from random surveys to personal life narratives. A significant contribution to the study comes from the researcher's nearly thirty years of experience attending classical music concerts in various cities and countries. This is complemented by formal musical education, which includes a five-year program at the Glazunov Children's Music School and a four-year course at the Tchaikovsky Academic Music College at the Moscow State Conservatory, where the researcher studied violin, piano, and sang in an academic choir. Additionally, the researcher's professional activities at institutions such as the Tchaikovsky Moscow State Conservatory, where he worked for seven years at the Taneyev Research Music Library, further enrich the study. Together, these elements enable not only an explanation of audience behavior in the classical music world (usually portrayed as an isolated domain with its unique rules and characteristics) but also facilitate an understanding of the nuances of local concert culture and audience listening practices in Lisbon.

The goal of the dissertation is not to deduce general patterns in music listening processes or tracing the evolution of concert culture in Lisbon – tasks typically undertaken within musicology. Rather, the focus lies on identifying, through the perspectives of audience

members themselves, the trajectories that not only clarify specific public phenomena but also delineate the intricate nature of the public's presence at classical concerts.

While the cultural distinction between classical concerts and other leisure activities is evident, the specific problematic aspects of classical concerts, which are the primary focus of this study, may not be immediately apparent. For many, the realm of classical music appears closed off, elitist, and perhaps unworthy of attention from disciplines like anthropology. However, this study seeks to challenge such perceptions by exploring the world of classical music not merely as a historical tradition of the privileged class but as a vibrant, evolving structure. This world is characterized by its rituals, ceremonies, transitions, and continual transformations, making it both dynamic and contemporary. Through this lens, the study aims to highlight the relevance and complexity of classical concert culture.

Methodologically, this study suggests moving away from the idea of the "ideal listener," an abstract figure who is assumed to be the target audience for classical music. Instead, it proposes a reevaluation of the rigid framework of musicological analysis, which often focuses solely on studying music divorced from its listeners. The research advocates for viewing the classical concert as a social and cultural phenomenon worthy of discussion comparable to pressing social issues in contemporary life. The key distinction lies in recognizing that classical music and classical concerts are artistic expressions that respond to the needs of the societies where they are practiced, emphasizing that even Western culture, despite its perceived familiarity and popularity, also requires reevaluation and revision.

1.5. Research Hypothesis

The research hypothesis suggests that the way individuals interact with classical music at public concerts can be explained by distinct listening practices. These practices reveal complex connections between the audience and musical events across different aspects. Essentially, this hypothesis aims to investigate and interpret the diverse relationships and interactions between the audience and the experience of musical performances within the frame of classical concerts.

On one hand, the modern audience demonstrates less dependence on traditional modes of music listening, adopting unique approaches to develop personalized listening habits. On the other hand, the classical music concert continues to be a distinct and structured environment

for auditory engagement, governed by established rules and conventions. Within this context, audience members are influenced by the sonic environment established by the regulations and norms. This intersection provides an opportunity to gain new perspectives on music perception during live concerts, examining how the audience interacts with the controlled sonic atmosphere created by performers.

The use of embodied listening practices, which involve integrating the entire person and its bodily techniques, offers a valuable avenue for studying the act of listening to classical music. Drawing on the concept of "body techniques" by Marcel Mauss (1979) and on the theory of "musicking" by Christopher Small (1998), it provides an analytical basis for exploring contemporary listening practices, uncovering how individuals engage during classical music performances, understanding personal significance, and delineating the creation and attribution of value within this context. Essentially, the research aims to investigate the perception of classical music by intertwining two interconnected dimensions: the physical body's involvement and the influence of social-cultural frameworks. By examining these dimensions, the goal is to achieve a deeper understanding of how listeners experience and attribute meaning to classical music within the concert settings in Lisbon.

1.6. Research Objective and Aims

The research objective revolves around providing a detailed analysis of the distinct listening practices embraced by audiences at classical concerts in Lisbon. To accomplish this, a blend of interview and participant observation methods is essential to grasp the behaviors and practices of attendees at events held at the FCG and CCB, as well as at concerts in museums, churches, and universities. Interviews offer a direct means to engage with concertgoers, facilitating a deeper understanding of their viewpoints, preferences, and experiences with classical music listening. Moreover, participant observation, entailing immersion within the concert setting, allows for the observation and analysis of public behaviors and reactions throughout the events.

This objective is structured around several aims that present a broad scope of inquiry into the diverse aspects of listening to classical music within the setting of public concerts in Lisbon:

to conceptualize listening as a philosophical, historical, and sociological problem, exploring diverse approaches to studying music listening. This involves comprehending how listening has been addressed and interpreted across different disciplines and perspectives;

to employ an anthropological lens in examining the act of listening to classical music, uncovering the bodily and culturally framed dimensions of this activity. The goal is to reveal how listening practices are theoretically influenced by social, environmental, and musical factors;

to analyze the social contexts of the audience attending classical music concerts in Lisbon. This includes scrutinizing the social dynamics, interactions, and relationships that occur within the concert events, as well as communal aspects of public listening;

to investigate how environmental factors impact the audience's perception of classical music. This aims to understand how external elements, such as the concert venue or surrounding atmosphere, shape the audience's experience and reception of the music;

to uncover the sources contributing to the formation of the audience's aesthetic experience during classical music concerts. This helps to identify and understand various influences, such as engagement and enjoyment factors, that shape the audience's perception of the music's value.

1.7. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters, organized as follows: an introduction, two chapters dedicated to reviewing the existing literature and formalizing the methodologies, three analytical chapters exploring the social, environmental, and aesthetic dimensions of the public listening to classical music in Lisbon, a conclusion, bibliographical references, and appendices.

Chapter 1, Introduction, sets the stage by explaining the topic of the dissertation and its significance. It outlines the research problem, provides background information on the object of research, and establishes the context for the study. Moreover, it highlights the relevance of the research, discussing its potential contributions to the field.

Chapter 2, State of the Art, offers an extensive overview of current research on listening to classical music. It explores various themes, including discussions on the language of music and the challenge of ineffability, philosophical examinations of listening, and the evolution of a new listening mode in 19th-century music. Additionally, the chapter reviews sociological investigations of classical music listening, covering topics such as critiques of these typologies, private and public forms of music perception, the rational foundations of Western music, music taste, and the concept of cultural capital. It explores classical music within contemporary cultural studies, discussing insights from sound studies, the impact of modern sound technologies on the "art of listening," and the understanding of listening as a multisensory experience. Furthermore, the chapter addresses communicative perspectives on listening in the postmodern era, examining the distinction between live and recorded listening.

Chapter 3, Methodologies, outlines the approaches utilized to investigate listening practices and their nuances. The research revolves around the frame analysis of classical music concerts, complemented by Victor Turner's ritual theory of cultural performance and Christopher Small's theory of "musicking." The central explanatory concept is Marcel Mauss's theory of "body techniques." Additionally, the methodology incorporates an ecological approach to audience research proposed by Erick Clarke and Nick Crossley's concept of "music worlds." The chapter also provides a comprehensive description of the ethnographic fieldwork, including the concert selection and participant sampling process, the observation and data collection methods employed, and the interview techniques used.

Chapters 4-6 are centered around the analysis of interviews and observations, categorized according to various aspects relevant to the research methodology.

Chapter 4 examines the social dynamics of listening during concerts and demonstrates how concert attendance enhances audience engagement by shifting the focus from practical considerations to shared social and cultural experiences. The chapter specifically investigates the social demography of classical concert audiences in Lisbon, analyzing how social background and musical preferences shape the identities of concertgoers and reflect broader class structures. This is achieved through an examination of personal motivations for attending concerts, the influence of repertoire preferences, and the role of concert-going in fostering a sense of community among attendees.

Chapter 5 explores the environmental effects of classical concerts and shows how the concert hall's space and acoustics shape the audience's listening experience and behavior during classical music performances. It highlights how elements like seat selection, lighting, and the expectation of silence influence the concert experience, transforming it into a collective ritual that connects audiences to shared cultural values and history. Through this, the concert hall becomes more than a venue – it plays an active role in shaping the musical and social engagement of its attendees.

Chapter 6 considers the formation of aesthetic experience in classical concerts, focusing on pre-listening preparations, preferences for specific genres, and the nuances of performance interpretation and evaluation. It examines how concert settings cultivate focused listening and create a collective experience centered on the interaction between the listener, the music, and the performance space. This experience often transports concertgoers beyond ordinary reality, fostering a shared cultural and imaginative space. The chapter considers how concert expectations, along with the audience's investment in involvement and enjoyment, contribute to the overall aesthetic experience.

Chapter 7, Conclusion, summarizes the main findings of the research and discusses their implications, while also suggesting directions for future research. The appendices contain detailed information about classical concerts attended during the 2021/2022 and 2022/2023 concert seasons in Lisbon, including lists of events and venues. Additionally, the appendices include materials such as interview schedules, interview questions for random public surveys and in-depth interviews, and the interview consent form.

CHAPTER 2

State of the Art

The literature on the reception of classical music and the scholarly research concerning classical concerts has witnessed a recent expansion. Nonetheless, there is a noticeable lack of scholarly endeavors that delve into the specificities of classical music consumption within the context of public concert settings. The corpus of existing literature presents an array of academic disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, musicology, philosophy, and cultural and sound studies, thereby constituting a multidisciplinary domain of academic texts that correspond to the contemporary examination of audience behavior in the context of classical concerts and raise questions surrounding the act of listening within this milieu at multiple levels.

2.1. The Language of Music and the Ineffability Problem

The matter of musical language in its connection to listening has long been a subject of interest among anthropologists. Claude Lévi-Strauss, the pioneering figure in anthropology regarding classical music who articulated the notion of listening as a fundamental human imperative aimed at surmounting the absence of explicit content in music, observes in his book *The Naked Man* (1981):

> Music is language without meaning: this being so, it is understandable that the listener, who is first and foremost a subject with the gift of speech, should feel himself irresistibly compelled to make up for the absent sense, just as someone who has lost a limb imagines that he still possesses it through the sensations present in the stump (ibid., p. 647).

Lévi-Strauss, in his interpretation of sonic events, underscores that the significance of these events lies beyond the realm of sound and cannot be inherently contained within it. Instead, it is the listener who finds one or more potential meanings within the music. Lévi-Strauss's lifelong engagement with music, particularly classical music, extends beyond personal enjoyment to significantly influence his intellectual work. He frequently discusses music as an

art form that paralleled his ideas on structure and meaning within human culture. His explanatory model underscores the remarkable commonalities between mythology and music, although with a key distinction: while myth conveys a pattern through encoded imagery, music employs sounds. Listeners are not the originators of music, as they are engaging with someone else's creative work, there exists a space within the listener, wherein the music resides. In this context, the listener functions as a "reverse, hollowed-out image of a creator" (ibid., p. 654), with the music filling the gaps, as articulated by the French anthropologist.

In his quest to understand the essence of music, Lévi-Strauss examines the profound emotional responses aroused by musical compositions, including their capacity to move listeners to tears. He posited the intriguing idea that music shares a certain structural parallel with laughter: both encompass a specific external structure that triggers psycho-physiological mechanisms. In one instance, this structure manifests as a pattern of words or actions, while in the other, it materializes as a pattern of sounds.

Lévi-Strauss engages with Marcel Proust's ideas while studying the question of the listener's enjoyment derived from music. He characterizes the listener as "the place or space of the music" (ibid., p. 656), emphasizing that the pleasure of listening extends beyond the performance and may reach its culmination in the subsequent silence. It is during this silence that "the listener finds himself saturated with music, overwhelmed with meaning, becoming a victim of a kind of possession that strips him of his individuality and being" (ibid., p. 656).

Lévi-Strauss draws a parallel between the delight one derives from music and the sense of fulfillment that life may bring in a long-term period, achieved in professional, social, or romantic spheres. Music has the remarkable capacity to simulate these life events and accelerate them, putting them into a timeframe that memory can grasp as a whole thing, leading to their successful conclusion. He refers to this process as the union of a project with its realization, noting that "this, in the case of music, allows the fusion of the two categories of the sensory and the intelligible" (ibid., p. 657).

The challenge of music's resistance to reduction into language is precisely explored in Vladimir Jankélévich's work *Music and the Ineffable* (2003). Jankélévich introduces several key characteristics of music to analyze this issue, including the "absence of any systematic unity" and "insensitivity to repetition" (ibid., p. 18).

Firstly, Jankélévich argues that music is logically incoherent, making it impossible to harmonize its contrasting elements into a unified system. Secondly, music, in contrast to language, is free of a meaningful message, and it does not "repeat" in the same way. In music, each repetition offers a sense of novelty, setting it apart from language, which invariably advances without revisiting past expressions. Lastly, music lacks implicit meanings or emotions, contrary to common opinions, and exists within the realm of temporality. The duration of a musical composition does not generate ideas or feelings. Instead, it is the act of listening that provides music with retrospective meaning. As Jankélévich expresses, "musical meaning lends itself to the retrospective: music can only signify something in the future perfect tense" (ibid., p. 61).

Jankélévich's philosophical analysis results in the fundamental ontological question that he raised at the outset of his book: "What is music?" His approach does not argue that music is not "purely and simply inexpressive, since despite all this, the Espressivo is no sin" (ibid., p. 62). Rather, he suggested that the inexpressible, or the ineffable, enables a form of signification to a higher degree. Music does not convey a direct meaning but, instead, unveils the "meaning of meaning."

> Music is a Charm, made of nothing, insisting upon nothing, and perhaps it is nothing – at least for those who expect to discover something, something palpable and unequivocal. Like an iridescent soap bubble that quivers and glows for a few seconds in the sunlight, music collapses the moment you touch it and does not exist, except as a highly dubious, fugitive exaltation in an opportune moment (ibid., p. 120).

Listening to music appears to be something similar to an intangible essence, an almost imperceptible presence that transcends conventional language and communication.

2.2. Listening vs. Hearing: A Philosophical Analysis

The philosophical exploration of listening to music provides a framework for contemplating the interplay between sound, meaning, and subjectivity. The French philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy, in his work *Listening* (2007), places special emphasis on the distinction between two French verbs that denote the act of perceiving sound: "entendre" (to hear) and "écouter" (to listen). According to Nancy's argument, hearing involves comprehending the explicit meaning

of the sound, whereas listening entails an active engagement with the sound, emphasizing that to listen means "to be straining toward a possible meaning, and consequently one that is not immediately accessible" (ibid., p. 6).

Nancy's ideas build upon Lévi-Strauss's insights into listening to music, particularly in the context of its manifestation within the logic of presence. In Nancy's view, listeners become deeply immersed in music, entering into a distinct realm that not only unfolds within the listener but also extends outwardly, enveloping the listener in a unique experiential space:

> "To be listening is to be *at the same time* outside and inside, to be open *from* without and *from* within, hence from one to the other and from one in the other. Listening thus forms the perceptible singularity that bears in the most ostensive way the perceptible or sensitive (*aesthetic*) condition as such: the sharing of an inside/outside, division and participation, de-connection and contagion" (ibid., p. 14, italics added).

Nancy's work explores the conceptualization of a listening subject, one that is engendered by the object to which the subject listens. Notably, Nancy emphasizes that this listening subject is not philosophical in the conventional sense, and, perhaps, may not even be a subject at all. Instead, this subject is better understood as "the place of resonance, of its infinite tension and rebound, the amplitude of sonorous deployment and the slightness of its simultaneous redeployment" (ibid., p. 22). According to Nancy, music listening entails a profound engagement with the music itself, encompassing "the music that, above all, *is listened to* [s'écoute], whether it is written down or not, and when it is written, from its composition all the way to its execution" (ibid., p. 27, italics added). In this sense, music listening is synonymous with music itself, involving a holistic and immersive encounter with the sonic phenomenon.

The French philosopher and musicologist Peter Szendy revises Nancy's concept by introducing his formula "to listen to oneself listening." This idea is posited as the primary condition for a form of listening that can be described as critical but

> […] to listen to oneself listening, to fold listening onto itself and onto oneself, isn't that also risking not hearing anything anymore of what is available to be heard, isn't that becoming deaf? It is in the space of this risk that I ask you a few final questions: about the responsibility of listening; and about its plasticity (Szendy 2008, p. 142).

The author characterizes this distinctive mode of listening as an innovation in contemporary listening practices, where the imperative "you *have* to listen" appears to have been replaced by the notion that "the *right* to lend an ear has been granted to me" (ibid., p. 1, italics added). The reflexivity that holds listening keeps one's attention and adaptability as one engages with a particular musical composition, with the "irrepressible desire to listen to listening" (ibid., p. 143).

Szendy contends that the essence of a musical work is only truly realized through this inherent desire it awakens. A musical work, in essence, transforms into an event or experience to be undergone only when, "beyond itself and its boundaries, it leaves something to be desired" (ibid., p. 143). This desire, in turn, prompts individuals to listen, fostering a yearning for someone, always one more person, to bear witness to their experience.

2.3. 19th-Century Music: New Listening Modes

Listening is a dynamic concept, subject to evolution not only due to changes in human habits but also according to its collective nature, which echoes with the ritual realm. How listening is understood and practiced as a mode of perception has transformed throughout history. Lévi-Strauss highlights a significant transformation in music listening that occurred during the 19th century. In his view, listeners in the 18th century likely had a more intellectual and authentic appreciation of music, as they were closer in time to the composers themselves. Music was a source of delight for these audiences, not necessarily because it introduced revolutionary innovations that are now taken for granted but because the listeners of that era possessed a deeper understanding of music, Lévi-Strauss observes in his book titled *Look, Listen, Read* (1997):

> Today's music lover may read writings on music of a general character, or the biographies of famous composers. But how many would, in order to improve their knowledge of an opera or concert they were about to attend, feel compelled to consult a treatise on music? Such treatises appear far too arduous to us [...] (ibid., p. 42).

During the 19th century, there was a profound shift in musical listening. Lévi-Strauss argues that this transformation led to a type of sensibility that was criticized by Richard Wagner in his account of a concert dedicated to the works of Ludwig van Beethoven. Lévi-Strauss points

out that audiences during this period began to perceive music as nothing but sounds or attempted to give literary meanings to it. Thus, it allowed the public "to sit back in the comfortable, if passive, position of the consumer" (ibid., p. 43). The listener's passive, or more accurately, subordinate, role required compliance with emerging practices linked with the aesthetic autonomy of classical music, a development that is traced back to the 19th century.

2.3.1. The concept of "absolute" music: To listen silently

Among the classical musical works developed in the late 18th and early 19th centuries by the Viennese classicists, the symphony stands out in particular, epitomizing the ideal model of subordinate listening. The symphonies belonging to Beethoven's type strengthened the role of instrumental music which was called "absolute" music (Kholopova 2014). This type of music previously interpreted as a poor form of vocal music was ranked as an aesthetic paradigm. In the 19th century, music aesthetics – with all its contradictions – may be presented as an attempt to establish and justify the position of instrumental music in the hierarchy of human activities and experiences, as Carl Dahlhaus suggests:

> The idea of aesthetic autonomy, formerly limited to the general artistic theory that applied primarily to poetry, painting, or sculpture, was extended to musical culture, it found an adequate expression in 'absolute' music that was disassociated from 'extramusical' functions and programs (1991, p. 6).

In his work *Nineteenth-Century Music* (1989), Dahlhaus underscores the metaphysical dimensions of music, particularly examining the profound impact of German Romanticism on the aesthetic principles of music in the 19th century. Dahlhaus accentuates the period's distinctive contribution to music, stating that it introduced "the new urgency […] to thinking about music" (ibid., p. 89). He also notes the emergence of a new mode of behavior in the public sphere at the beginning of the 19th century, which continues to hold significance. Dahlhaus highlights that the practice of listening in silence was not merely a spontaneous development but emerged in a specific historical context and conveyed a distinctive function:

> Music was meant not merely to be 'enjoyed' but to be 'understood'. And in order to fulfill its educative function it forced audiences to listen silently, a mode of behavior which only after a long and tedious progress gained ascendancy over the earlier habit of using music

> as a stimulus to conversation, at least in those moments when the emotions were not being touched (ibid., p. 50).

This shift marked a significant redirection in the appreciation of music, moving away from perceiving musical performances as background elements and instead highlighting the production of musical works as central. This transformation "changed the way musicians thought about music; it changed their expectations and ideals about the basic conditions of their practice" (Goehr 1992, p. 203) and led to the conceptualization and construction of concert halls as enduring edifices and institutions specifically dedicated to the performance of musical compositions. Since music possesses a language-like quality with some degree of meaning, as mentioned by Lévi-Strauss, and yet remains the only language with the paradoxical attributes of being both intelligible and untranslatable, "the musical creator is a being comparable to the gods, and music itself the supreme mystery of the science of man, a mystery that all the various disciplines come up against and which holds the key to their progress" (1969, p. 18). In this context, the act of listening silently becomes a profound engagement with music as an autonomous form of expression, where the listener encounters its mystery and divine-like creativity without the need for verbal interpretation.

2.3.2. Gesamtkunstwerk aesthetics

The cult of instrumental music played a pivotal role in the development of opera music, which reached its culmination in the operas of Wagner. The familiarity and significance of works like Beethoven's symphonies and Wagner's operas are caused not only by their formal immensity but also by their profound associations with the aesthetics of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (Total work of art). Through this trajectory, classical music developed a distinctive mode of listening, shaping the identity of its listeners, and establishing a unique and pre-defined realm of sonic perception ruled by its own set of conventions.

Wagner founded *Bayreuther Festspielhaus* (Bayreuth Festival Theatre), a revolutionary type of opera theater, which was built in 1876, where the orchestra was deliberately concealed from view. This design compelled the audience to focus their attention on listening to the dramatic action unfolding on stage, with the music seemingly emerging from the depths. Wagner aimed to synthesize the expressive potency of music with the narrative, to the extent that the drama would be presented through the music itself. In this paradigm, music was no

longer subservient to the words, but the words found their interpretation through the medium of music which became the conduit through which the emotional essence of the drama emerged. The composer's idea to create a dedicated performance space reflected his intention to establish a new environment for experiencing music. The theater was designed to be completely dark, accentuating the non-visual aspects of the performance and featuring a minimalist interior and a striking absence of decorative elements. This architectural simplicity directed the audience's focus entirely on the listening experience, creating an environment where the music itself takes center stage. Wagner's pursuit of unity between words and music was realized through his desire for the sound that would convey the portrayed emotions, giving rise to a new type of listener.

Creating the sound of every emotion, Wagner went further by working with a system of leitmotifs in his opera scores. A leitmotif is a concise musical phrase that recurs in an opera, typically associated with a specific idea, character, or situation. These leitmotifs serve to carry the emotions and themes associated with them throughout the entire performance. What makes the narrative structure of Wagner's operas particularly powerful is the semantic connections that exist among the events, images, and characters, with leitmotifs acting as a musical thread that weaves together these elements, enriching the storytelling and emotional depth of the operatic experience.

In Wagner's monumental work, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (The Ring of the Nibelung), leitmotifs resurface persistently throughout the epic 15-hour saga. These leitmotifs serve as provokers for associations, as underlines Lévi-Strauss, often connecting different, "not obviously related episodes by pointing out hidden parallels or oppositions that nevertheless underlie the plot" (1985, p. 236). This is more than a mere similarity. It is as if, in the invention of musical forms, music had rediscovered structures that already existed at the level of myth. For Lévi-Strauss, the fables, myths, fictional narratives, and "pleasant chimeras" crafted by human imagination paved the way for the emergence of opera – and "the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries adopted the structures of mythic thought for its own purposes" (1997, p. 121).

2.3.3. Musical works and myths

In his exploration of the interplay between music and myth, Lévi-Strauss seeks not only to decipher the underlying meanings within this interplay but also to employ this understanding to address and potentially resolve the challenges he encountered in his mythological research (Jamin 2019). He approaches myths by cutting them into narrative units, emphasizing that these mythic units resonate with each other throughout the narrative chain, forming a network of associations. This process entails a kind of reconstruction in the mind of the individual who is engaged in listening to music or to a myth.

This idea enables Lévi-Strauss to illustrate that the underlying structure of myths can be discerned through a musical score. In his work *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969), he readily acknowledges his intellectual and artistic debt to Wagner, whom he identifies as the "undeniable originator of the structural analysis of myths" (ibid., p. 15). The anthropologist further emphasizes that both myths and music should be regarded as languages, each uniquely transcending the realms of articulate speech. He points out that, as well as articulated speech but in contrast to visual arts like painting, both myths and music necessitate a temporal dimension for their expression and comprehension:

> Because of the internal organization of the musical work, the act of listening to it immobilizes passing time; it catches and enfolds it as one catches and enfolds a cloth flapping in the wind. It follows that by listening to music, and while we are listening to it, we enter into a kind of immortality (ibid., p. 16).

Lévi-Strauss observes that both myths and musical works are based on a twofold continuum. On one hand, there is an external component, consisting of "a theoretically infinite series from which each society extracts a limited number of relevant incidents with which to create its myths" (ibid., p. 16). On the other hand, there exists an equally infinite series of physically producible sounds, from which each musical system chooses its scale.

The second part of the continuum is internal and is placed in the psychophysiological time of the listener with a complex range of its elements which "involve the periodicity of cerebral waves and organic rhythms, the strength of the memory, and the power of the attention" (ibid., p. 16). He concludes that music, in this sense, operates along two grids: a physiological one and a cultural one. It exploits organic rhythms while giving significance to phenomena of

discontinuity. Simultaneously, it comprises a scale of sounds that varies and adapts across different cultures.

According to Lévi-Strauss, both music and mythology tap into mental structures that are shared among different listeners. Each musical composition possesses the power to awaken the listeners from a state of passivity, engaging them in its creative impulse, "so that there will no longer be a difference of kind, but only of degree, between inventing music and listening to it" (ibid., p. 26).

2.4. Sociological Studies on Listening to Classical Music

Sociological studies of music listening have a rich research history, particularly in the development of listener typologies. These studies, which were established in the 20th century, laid the foundation for a research program that views music listening as a socially determined process, aligning with the Frankfurt School's perspective. Continuing this research tradition, the idea of the separation of the public and private spaces of music listening, which characterizes classical music listening as a bourgeois practice, and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of class-related musical tastes, occupy a special place.

The 18th century marked the start of the modern classical concert in Europe. This era saw a shift from music performances being anchored in religious services and aristocratic courts to the rise of public concerts responding to secular tastes. The growing middle class increased demand for such concerts, seeking to engage with the arts beyond the boundaries of ecclesiastical and elite settings. For certain authors, listening to classical music is seen as a characteristic of bourgeois practice. Over the 19th century, the rationalization of music became intertwined with the evolution of the musician's profession. The specialization of musical practices resulted in a division between amateurs and professionals, concert attendees and musicians. This division was further accentuated by the growth of concert culture and the expansion of the classical music repertoire. It gave rise to a notion of "classical" taste that was widely spread in popularity among the bourgeoisie, defining a distinct cultural sphere associated with refined musical preferences and practices.

2.4.1. The typology of listeners and its critique

The strong sociological reflection of listening activities in their reliance on social settings was originated by Theodor Adorno. He describes the unique phenomenon of listening to instrumental music that emerged in the early 1800s, coinciding with the formation of the modern type of listener. This transformation in listening behavior was closely associated with a shift in the aesthetic perception of music (Müller 2009a; 2009b). This particular mode of listening, according to Adorno, was centered on the profound experience of a musical composition's integrity and was seen as a manifestation of national unity, representing significant cultural and artistic changes during that period:

> To say that Beethoven's music expressed the World Spirit, that it was the content of that Spirit or suchlike, would undoubtedly be pure nonsense. What is true, however, is that his music expressed the same experiences which inspired Hegel's concept of the World Spirit (1998, p. 32).

In his work *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (1976), which remains influential yet subject to debate among scholars exploring contemporary music culture, Adorno shows the connections between music and the socially organized individuals who engage with it. He highlights the distinctive significance of listening within these relationships, emphasizing that "once we posit the premise that among the ways in which social problems and complexities express themselves are contradictions in the relation between musical production and reception, that indeed those ways are expressed in the very structure of listening" (ibid., p. 2).

Adorno develops a typology of music listeners proposing eight distinct categories, ranging from the "expert" listener who can recognize structural elements of music and integrate them into one piece, to the "emotional" listener who does not know how music works but is highly susceptible to its emotional impact, and finally, the "musically indifferent" listener who avoids and dislikes music. Adorno's approach primarily focused on the cognitive dimension of music appreciation, a stance that can be traced back to his "value-orientation within the discourse of serious music, itself a product of the nineteenth century" (DeNora 2003, p. 32), with little reflection on the history of emotional listening as a part of reception history.

Adorno's model of a silent and respectful listener seems to downplay the physical aspect of listening, despite the necessity for a high degree of bodily discipline in the act of listening. The connections between this mode of listening and the subjective experience of music raise

further questions “about the individuation of musical experience, its concentration as an ‘internal’ or subjective experience rather than as an experience that invokes the body, and about the history of how links between emotion, self, and other are made in relation to hearing music” (ibid., p. 84).

It is important to note that the deregulation of the personal space of musical experience went hand in hand with the transformation of private listening practices which became of a public type and required increased orderliness. This new order, as Jürgen Habermas highlights in his seminal work *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1988) was fundamentally inclusive. Inclusivity democratized the concept of taste, allowing everyone to have their own opinions, and confirmed that every person has the right to judge the aesthetic value of an artwork. However, this new type of listener was expected to maintain silent concentration, and its violation was perceived as a transgression.

This shift from aristocratic to bourgeois norms of behavior in European musical history during the 19th century laid the groundwork for the emergence of the professional or skilled listener. As Habermas notes, public music practices had predominantly been occasional until the late 18th century, playing a relatively minor role in constructing socially significant identities. With the emphasis on “proper” manners, the silent and disciplined listener became emblematic of the ideal citizen. This change illustrates the general tendency of leisure time regularization which is typical for the middle class.

2.4.2. Private and public forms of listening to music

In the era without recorded music, as mentions Max Weber in his book *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music* (1958), “orchestra works were made accessible for home use only in the form of piano transcriptions” (ibid., p. 120). It represented the primary form of private listening experience available at the time, even though the overall quality of performances was not high. Thus, the focused form of listening that emerged after Beethoven became the primary means of acquainting oneself with orchestral compositions. This type of listening led to an enhanced aestheticization of the listening experience and imposed stricter demands on the listener’s attentiveness, shaping a new mode of public behavior.

In his book *Music and the Middle Class* (2004), which presents the analysis of middle-class unity through the lens of musical practices in Paris, London, and Vienna during the period between 1830 and 1840, the leading historian of the European music life William Weber examines various aspects of musical engagement, including concert subscriptions, participation in amateur musical groups, the acquisition of musical instruments, and ticket pricing. Weber argues that these musical practices played an important role in delineating social groups and their hierarchical relationships. Music, in his view, was not merely a reflection of social structure or context but a social fact in itself. Weber presents the concert as a comparatively recent cultural phenomenon, underlining that before the late 17th century, formal and independent venues dedicated solely to the performance of music did not exist:

> Musical activities had been attached to many other institutions and social locales – courts, taverns, the Church, markets, and families – and for the most part served their social and cultural needs. The rise of concerts, the opera, and musical societies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries therefore constituted a fundamental reordering of the social structure of musical life. From that time on the pursuit of music evolved into a world of its own, with purposes, etiquette, and social organization specific to it (2004, p. 3).

Weber's research shows that opera was the most rapidly developing musical form in early modern Europe, with large and highly formalized theatre companies established across the continent by the early 18th century. Concerts, in contrast, had a more occasional growth. There were concerts in London by the late 17th century, and the practice began to take hold in Paris after the turn of the century. However, it was not until 1750 that concerts became more numerous and began to significantly shape the cultural landscape. This slower development reflects the different social and economic factors influencing the two forms of musical entertainment, with opera initially finding a more immediate and widespread place in European culture.

Weber also incorporates the notion of musical idealism, which he uses as a "powerful moralistic critique against the publication and concert performance of opera medleys as a dangerous lowering of a musical taste" (ibid., p. xxi). According to the author, performers, publishers, and audiences began to look to classical works from the recent past as models of taste, seeking to establish a high standard in programming, performance, and listening in opposition to what they perceived as a commercialized musical world.

2.4.3. Grounds of Western music: Harmonic rationalization

In his works on the sociology of music, Max Weber explores the unique characteristics of classical music history. His attempt to incorporate music into the analysis of the Western rationalization process may have been partially driven by the position of music in his era, particularly the prominence and popularity of Wagner. For Weber, modern music covers the musical developments in the Western world from 1700 onwards. The German sociologist constructs his method of comparative musicology using three key elements: rationalization, modernity, and Westernization. This approach leads to a division of music into Western and Oriental traditions. In his analysis, based on the comparison between Western and non-Western music, notably Oriental music, the Western tradition is characterized by harmonic rationalization, which favors harmony alongside melody. Without this harmonic quality, Weber argues, modern music would not have been technically or conceptually possible.

Weber draws a sharp contrast between two types of rationalistic alteration of the tone system from within is found in distance tempering in Asian cultures and modern Western music:

> Javanese and Siamese musical systems supply examples of an octave simply divided into equally large tone distances. Purely intervallic tempering is designed to permit the transposition of melodies into any pitch without retuning the instrument. […] The peculiarity of this modern temperament is found in the fact that the practical execution of the principle of distance is treated and is effective on our keyboard instruments as a tempering of tones which are gained harmonically (1958, p. xlviii).

The process of rationalization in music played a crucial role in cultivating a sense of harmony. This rationalization was intimately tied to the distance principle, which underpins the subdivision of intervals on keyboard instruments. Consequently, it had a profound impact on the refinement of listening abilities. Weber highlights that our musical sensitivity also is dominated by the interpretation of the tones according to their harmonic proveniences.

Weber's analysis extends to the construction and development of various musical instruments, including violins, organs, and especially pianos. He explores how these instruments have left a significant imprint on the history of music and have shaped the expansion and reception of musical literature. Weber observes that the standardization of woodwind and string quartets represents a form of progressive rationalization. For instance, he notes that "the violin, viola, and cello became the instruments for a special modem organization

of chamber music, the string quartet as it was definitely established by Joseph Haydn" (ibid., p. 108). These instruments collectively form the foundation of the modern orchestra, marking a pivotal development in the history of music.

The piano, invented in the early 1700s, is a prime example of how instrument-making contributed to this cultural shift, eventually becoming a central feature of classical concert performances in the second half of the 18th century (Goehr 1992). Weber also explores how the piano was closely associated with the private bourgeoisie lifestyle, serving not only as a musical instrument but also as a piece of furniture. The rise of the piano can be seen as a way of bringing music into the domestic sphere, resulting in a proliferation of works composed for this instrument and mass production of pianos in Saxony (Germany). However, as Roland Barthes points out, post-Beethoven symphonic music was not suited for domestic performances – "the music one plays, alone or among friends, with no other audience than its participants; a muscular music in which the part taken by the sense of hearing is one only of ratification; a music which is not played by heart" (1977, p. 149).

2.4.4. Listening to classical music as a time-shared experience

Developing research on the listening experience, the Austrian philosopher and social phenomenologist Alfred Schütz points out the social role of performers as intermediaries positioned between composers and listeners. They serve as conduits, bridging the gap between the composer's creative intent and the experience of the listener. In this process, performers engage with both the composer's stream of consciousness and the listener's inner experience.

The philosopher emphasizes that the listener becomes fully immersed in the unique articulation of the flow of inner time, which represents the specific essence and meaning of the musical composition. He contends that whether this immersion occurs through a face-to-face interaction between performer and listener or through the mediation of mechanical devices is of limited significance. What truly matters, according to Schütz, is the establishment of "a quasi simultaneity between the stream of consciousness of the mediator and the listener has been established" (1951, p. 93).

Schütz places significant emphasis on the time-shared experience during music listening. The connection between performers and the audience is multifaceted, encompassing variations

in intensity, intimacy, and anonymity. Performers and listeners become "tuned-in" to one another, essentially living through the same temporal flow and aging together as the musical process unfolds. This concept extends beyond the measurable outer time frame of a fifteen or twenty-minute musical performance. It primarily pertains to the simultaneous engagement in the polythetic steps through which the musical content articulates itself within inner time:

> Since, however, all performance as an act of communication is based upon a series of events in the outer world – in our case the flux of audible sounds – it can be said that the social relationship between performer and listener is founded upon the common experience of living simultaneously in several dimensions of time (ibid., p. 94).

Schütz argues that, in principle, there is no fundamental difference between the performance of a modern orchestra or choir and a group of people gathered around a campfire, singing along to the strumming of a guitar, or a congregation singing hymns led by an organist. Similarly, there is no distinction between the performance of a string quartet and the improvisations during a jam session featuring jazz musicians. These examples illustrate that all these social musical interactions are built upon the shared experience of various dimensions of time – both inner and outer – that participants simultaneously engage with.

The inner time represents the dimension within which the flow of musical events unfolds. In this inner time, "each performer recreates in polythetic steps the musical thought of the (eventually anonymous) composer and by which he is also connected with the listener" (ibid., p. 96). This inner time also connects the performer with the listener, as they both experience the unfolding musical narrative. However, making music together also involves an event in outer time, which necessitates a face-to-face relationship among participants. This face-to-face dimension features a communal space that "unifies the fluxes of inner time and warrants their synchronization into a vivid present" (ibid., p. 96). The coexistence of inner and outer time dimensions facilitates the profound sense of togetherness and shared musical experience among concert participants.

2.4.5. Musical taste and engagement with music

The formation of musical taste is a cross-cutting theme of sociological research. As the German sociologist, philosopher, and critic Georg Simmel explains, musical taste depends on the national cultural background of a society. Throughout the history of music, it becomes evident

that composers often expand on the principles and ideas established by their predecessors. Simmel's perspective suggests that a society's musical development lays the essential foundation for its musical culture, and consequently, musical taste is shaped through the ongoing practices of listening to the previously created national musical heritage:

> The history of music shows in almost every case that a composer bases his creations on the precepts of his precursors. This implies that the sum of the historical musical development of a society forms the foundation of his musical culture. The composer, therefore, owes so much to the chain of his precursors that he would never become what he is without them (1968, pp. 121-122).

From Simmel's viewpoint, the recurring opportunity to listen to a particular piece of music would not be possible unless that music resonated harmoniously with the national culture and was wholeheartedly embraced by the people belonging to that culture.

The study of musical taste is a central focus of Pierre Bourdieu's research, particularly in his renowned book *Distinction* (1984). Bourdieu explores how individuals' musical and artistic tastes, which develop early in life, serve as reflections of their social class positions:

> This is of course because, by virtue of the rarity of the conditions for acquiring the corresponding dispositions, there is no more 'classificatory' practice than concert-going or playing a 'noble' instrument [...]. But it is also because the flaunting of 'musical culture' is not a cultural display like others: as regards its social definition, 'musical culture' is something other than a quantity of knowledge and experiences combined with the capacity to talk about them (ibid., pp. 18-19).

In Bourdieu's view, the particularities of place and the emotions associated with musical taste are relatively unimportant compared to the influence of a person's upbringing and social environment. It is through these early experiences that individuals are prepared for membership in a particular social world which, according to Bourdieu, "is justified in existing by its perfection, its harmony and beauty, a world which has produced Beethoven and Mozart and continues to produce people capable of playing and appreciating them" (1984, p. 77).

Taste plays a crucial role in how people determine what is special or ordinary, preferred or rejected, and valuable or unimportant. These judgments arise from cultural norms and social structures rather than the intrinsic qualities of the objects themselves. Taste reflects the preferences of various social classes and status groups. It is demonstrated through the actions

of those who engage with culture and is also evident in the performances of artists. As the British sociologist Paul Atkinson notes, “arts like opera or ballet are grounded in the physical accomplishment of performances that respond to particular, culturally specific aesthetics” (2006, p. 55).

Contemporary scholars in the social sciences have raised valid criticisms of Bourdieu’s ideas regarding musical tastes. They argue that attempting to categorize individual tastes while “putting our tastes into boxes and matching them to socio-economic categories neglects the ways our lives are intimately entwined with music” (Prior 2013, p. 182). Indeed, Bourdieu’s approach neglects the richness and diversity of musical experiences witnessed nowadays. One notable challenge to Bourdieu’s theory is the “cultural omnivore” thesis, developed by the American sociologist Richard Peterson, who suggests that individuals today have more eclectic and open musical tastes (Peterson and Kern 1996).

Contemporary sociologists, including Tina DeNora, have highlighted the limitations of Bourdieu’s concept when it comes to understanding the multifaceted ways in which music “gets into action” (DeNora 2004, p. 8). They argue that it is essential to shift the focus from a general sociology of music to a specific sociology of how individuals engage with music. Instead of viewing music as something that constrains social structures, this perspective explores the constitutive effects of musical meanings. Music lovers are active and inventive in how they incorporate music into their lives. Music taste is seen as an ongoing activity rather than a static property and it is social “not because it is affected or fashioned by society and its social variables, but because it is in itself society, performance and communication” (Gomes-Ribeiro 2015, p. 57).

Moreover, music involves dynamic engagements, unfolding in the moment-to-moment experiences of individuals, as outlines the French sociologist of music Antoine Hennion: “Taste as a situated activity is not so pre-established: it points toward the contact, a situation of ‘between-the-two’, the place and the moment of the uncertain upsurge of sensation” (2007, p. 101). According to this perspective, the music itself is significant because it is the sum of its effects and reactions on individuals. Taste is not solely determined by external mechanisms of distinction but is in the “stirring of bodies” (Hennion 2008, p. 41) and “savoring of pleasure[s]” (ibid., p. 44). This approach highlights the active and experiential nature of music consumption, acknowledging that people’s relationships with music are deeply personal and involve a range of sensory and physiological responses.

2.5. Cultural Studies of Music: Listening Perspectives

Contemporary cultural studies grant music a unique status by studying the history of listening and tracing the genesis of the listener's role, such research facilitates a reevaluation of the listener's position. This shift challenges earlier models that may have depicted listeners as passive recipients of musical messages. Instead, contemporary studies emphasize the active engagement of listeners with music, recognizing them as co-creators of meaning alongside composers and performers. This involves examining listeners' experiences on a multisensorial level. In this context, it is important to examine the contributions of scholars in sound studies who investigate the role of sound within cultural, social, and political contexts, thereby reframing discourse from the interpretation of cultural meanings associated with sound to its aurality.

2.5.1. Sound studies: Listening and aurality

Studying the historical development of listening, the cultural historian, anthropologist, and ethnomusicologist Veit Erlmann highlights its multifaceted nature, functioning as a value, a resource, or a privilege in different periods. In the modern era, listening has gained value as it requires more sense of concentration. As a resource, listening is constrained by the limitations of human perception, necessitating choices between competing sound objects and events. Finally, the ability to concentrate on listening can be seen as a privilege, often enjoyed by social classes with the leisure time to engage with cultural products. In essence, listening contributes to the formation of identities, granting special access to the materiality of sound in varying ways (Erlmann 2016).

The evolution of the modern listener stands as a central focus within sound studies. However, despite its portrayal in predominantly "neutral," non-gendered, and non-racial terms, the construction of the Western aural identity is intricately entwined with the historical and political dynamics of difference. Of these, race has emerged as "the most recurrent and at the same time parenthetical themes in the story of modern aurality" (ibid., p. 165).

Erlmann underscores how the construction of modern listening as a pinnacle of cultural "progress" deeply interwoven with

> the Othering of the senses within the larger project of Western colonial domination. What is at issue in this process is less the difference between attentive and inattentive forms of listening than the fact that the sensing body becomes the passive ground on which (racial) difference is inscribed (ibid., p. 167).

Listening, viewed as a collective experience, can be analyzed in two distinct but interrelated historical dimensions: the socially acceptable and the aesthetically accessible (Johnson 1995). The rate of change in listening practices is closely tied to shifts in political ideologies, social structures, and musical innovations "because there are always possibilities for musical innovation and change in patterns of sociability, listening continues to evolve" (ibid., p. 281). Technological advancements also play a crucial role in shaping the relationship between sound and perception. Emily Thompson, in her work *The Soundscape of Modernity* (2002), explores the history of aural culture in early 20th-century America by examining the technologies that produce sounds. This era witnessed a strong desire to control sound through architectural means which "was paired with an equally strong desire to control the behavior of the audience" (ibid., p. 46), giving rise to the figure of the concerted listener.

The exploration of "an art of listening" by Christian Thorau, the professor of musicology at the University of Potsdam (Germany), and Hansjakob Ziemer, the head of cooperation and communication at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, serves as a valuable heuristic tool for examining the changing practices and discourses surrounding music perception. Their analysis traces the transformation of musical listening practices from the 19th-century pleasure gardens and concert venues to the living rooms of hi-fi listeners in the 20th century and the mobile devices of the 21st century. This research underscores that the history of listening to classical music reveals a struggle among listeners to understand how to engage with this art form. In contemporary times, Thorau and Ziemer argue, "an audience member has internalized the idea of the implicit listener that must be attained and his or her listening skills emulated, or one has somehow failed" (2019, p. 9).

The exploration of the multifaceted aspects of sound throughout history is a rich field of study that engages scholars across various disciplines. The Max Planck Research Group Epistemes of Modern Acoustics is dedicated to analyzing how sound has been understood, studied, and utilized across different periods and cultures. This research group focuses on the religious, political, and artistic practices, as well as the technologies and material cultures, that played a crucial role in reshaping sound and its perception. It is stated that the history of

acoustics extends beyond the mere emergence of an exact science but is deeply intertwined with a broader history encompassing religious, cultural, and artistic practices (Tkaczyk 2015).

2.5.2. The role of the listener: To experience music

There are more arguments to strengthen the opinion that listening to music involves listeners in something that is never personal. According to Julian Johnson, the British musicologist specializing in the history and aesthetics of modern music, listeners engage with music through signifying systems. These systems shape the way individuals interpret and experience musical works. He introduces two levels for music appreciation. The first level suggests that music listening goes beyond individual responses, while the second acknowledges the intensely personal and subjective nature of the musical experience, as Johnson explains:

> This seems to be an essential quality of music: it is collectively significant but speaks to the individual in a manner inaccessible to rational argument and dispute. While this twofold aspect is common to almost all musical experiences, the way we understand it differs considerably in different societies and in different periods of our own history (2011, p. 11).

In contemporary society, the significance attributed to listening to music lacks the inherent importance when viewed through a historical lens. As highlighted by Johnson, the attempt to uphold personal reactions to music and set the sole standard is not only of "relatively recent historical origins, but, from an anthropological perspective, is actually rather peculiar" (ibid., p. 11). Throughout various cultures, music has traditionally served as a communal activity, embedded within collective contexts like religious ceremonies and social rituals.

Listeners actively engage with music based on their choices: "people choose certain music at certain times knowing that they produce certain complex and indefinable effects" (ibid., p. 34). However, the unique essence of a musical piece can only truly be grasped when experienced in its entirety. As the structural coherence contributes to the music's significance, hearing only a fragment may lead to the loss of this coherence. The role of a listener is compared with the activity of a conductor who performs a musical piece and enacts a piece in all its polyphonic complexity without generating a sound. That is how the listener enters into this process of enactment, but not one focused on a particular voice or part:

> […] because music abstracts and internalizes the idea of limit and boundaries, it makes possible the enactment of their transgression. Because music internalizes space and time, it allows us to enact their transcendence, which is why music has a uniquely intense ability to summon up what is distant or long past (ibid., pp. 127-128).

2.5.3. Listening as a multisensorial experience

Exploring the contemporary state of music listening, particularly in the context of the second decade of the 21st century, scholars study the multisensorial aspects of the phenomenon of listening, attempting to provide insights into what it means to engage in music listening in today's world. The professor of auditory culture and music philosophy at Leiden University (the Netherlands) Marcel Cobussen examines the impact of technological advancements, changing cultural contexts, and evolving listening practices that have shaped the experience of music consumption and appreciation in recent years.

Cobussen suggests paying attention to four specific features of modern listening (2021, pp. 485-486): the predominance of pop music, even as it diversifies and challenges genre boundaries, increased listener control through electronic devices, a shift in concentrated listening away from concert halls to car journeys, especially when the driver is alone, and a transformation of listening modes, with traditional notions of attentive or concentrated listening giving way to multi-directed sensory experiences that emerge in multiple sonic fields. These features reflect the evolving landscape of music consumption and listener engagement in contemporary society.

The digitalization of music and the proliferation of new technologies have profoundly changed the music landscape, with significant implications for how people access and listen to music, as well as how they develop their musical tastes. The increased mobility afforded by digital formats and portable devices has allowed music to become more integrated into daily life (Bull 2007). Furthermore, streaming services have blurred genre boundaries, offering users an extensive and ever-expanding catalog of music, thereby diversifying their musical preferences (Sandywell and Beer 2005), which changes their habits and musical tastes.

Personalized music discovery algorithms and recommendation systems have encouraged listeners to explore a wider range of artists and genres, contributing to the fluidity of musical taste (Reynolds 2011). However, this digital era has also fragmented music consumption and

disrupted traditional music industry models, raising important questions about compensation and sustainability within the industry, as well as the ways of listening, exhibiting its impact on the established ideas of listening silently or in a specific setting.

Cobussen challenges the notion that attentive listening is the superior way to experience music, advocating for the idea that engaging in other activities while listening to music "may disclose unexpected, rich, and multisensorial experiences" (2021, p. 486). He rejects the belief that music listening should create a complete immersion where boundaries between self and environment disappear, highlighting that listeners can simultaneously be aware of their surroundings, audience, and various sensory inputs while remaining engaged with the music itself. This perspective recognizes the diversity of listening practices and the potential for unique and meaningful musical encounters in various contexts – "attention will always fluctuate, not only shifting from one external stimulus to another, but also from external to internal focus as stimuli appeal to emotions, imagination, associations, and memories" (ibid., p. 493).

A comprehensive theory of listening to music must be multifaceted, Cobussen concludes, taking into account numerous elements, including those that are frequently overlooked or dismissed. Listening engages the entire body, with visual, tactile, and even olfactory aspects contributing to auditory experiences – also "it triggers our intellect as well as our emotions, imagination, and memories" (ibid., p. 494). Listening is constructed by environmental settings, including both material and immaterial contexts, and what and how we hear is influenced by these settings and conditions as "various regimes of listening determine and are determined by social, political, ethical, economic, historical, and aesthetical issues in rather singular ways. And of course, music 'itself' affects our listening attitude" (ibid., p. 494).

2.6. Communicative Aspects on Listening to Classical Music

During the 19th century, many practices from earlier musical traditions persisted, yet a noticeable shift occurred that reoriented the perception of musical performance. This shift moved away from viewing music primarily in a functional context – such as for entertainment – towards an appreciation of music as a creation of "works." This transition represented a profound change in the mindset of musicians, altering their expectations and ideals about the essence of their art. By the end of the 18th century, the classical concert had crystallized into

an institution, with a repertoire of works by the great composers of the time and a set of conventions around performance practice. This evolution marked the birth of what is recognized as the modern classical concert experience, which has been preserved and is still celebrated in many parts of the world.

The problem of perceiving classical music has garnered significant attention from modern scholars, who approach it as a complex matter of communication. Exploring the relations between composers, conductors, performers, and audiences, the music theorist Lydie Goehr in her book *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (1992) views them as part of a complex and theoretical struggle that exists within the realm of musical interpretation. She seeks to address a fundamental question: where does the meaning and value of a musical work reside? Is it in the work itself, in its realization through performance, or in the interpretative act of listening to the work?

If a musical work is seen as having inherent meaning independent of performance or interpretation, then composers rely on capable performers and conductors to bring out that meaning. Conversely, if meaning is constructed through interpretation, then the roles of conductors and performers become more significant, potentially overshadowing the demand for fidelity to the composer's intentions. In this scenario, conductors and performers play a central role in loading the work with meaning. Finally, if the meaning of a work is thought to be shaped by the interpretative acts of listeners, then composers, conductors, and performers must enable listeners to have the freedom to interpret the work according to their perspectives, granting them autonomy in deriving meaning from the music. These perspectives reflect different paradigms of musical interpretation and the roles of those involved in the musical process.

In her exploration of the meaning and value of musical works, Goehr concludes that music cannot fully justify the social or political means involved in its creation, performance, and reception based on aesthetic grounds alone. Therefore, "one that will force us to think about music, less as excused and separated, and more as inextricably connected to the ordinary and impure condition of our human affairs" (ibid., pp. 285-286).

Jonathan Kramer, the American composer and music theorist, in his book *Postmodern Music, Postmodern Listening* (2020), emphasizes a significant transformation in the dynamics between composers and listeners. In the past, the study of music typically involved analyzing a score from the perspective of an ideal listener or the composer's intentions. However,

contemporary theorists have shifted their focus to the music that takes shape in the minds of listeners.

Kramer presents a comprehensive communication chain that spans from a composer's initial thoughts and intentions through various stages of musical production and performance. This chain encompasses the transformations that occur as the music moves from the composer's mind to written scores, editing, and publishing, live performances by musicians, recording processes, and finally, within listeners through "the internalized representations of the music" (ibid., p. 123). Throughout this complex journey, each link in the chain introduces its interpretations, readings, and potential misreadings, adding its unique perspectives and ideas to the music. As a result, the composer's original message can undergo significant alterations, "which may well alter or replace those of the composers" (ibid., p. 123).

The scholar highlights the significant degree of individuality in listeners' responses to music, particularly due to the limited communication between composers and listeners. Since composers do not directly communicate with individual listeners, each person's emotional experience during a performance can vary widely. This lack of a shared musical experience among listeners questions the existence of a sense of community in relation to music. Consequently, listeners may find themselves isolated, as music holds different meanings for each auditor. To support this argument, Kramer points to contemporary listening practices, where many people prefer using headphones to block out other sounds and immerse themselves directly in the music. This autonomy allows listeners to protect their silent listening space and avoid distractions from other audience members. That is why, despite significant changes in the music being performed today, classical concert rituals have remained largely unchanged:

> Music may have changed a lot with the rise of postmodernism, but the classical concert ritual continues to isolate listeners from each other, while the music plays (although there are certainly communal rituals associated with arriving at the concert hall, preparing to listen, intermission behavior, applause, etc.) (ibid., p. 125).

The focus needs to shift from the composer as the primary source of musical meaning to the listener as an active participant in the creation of musical personas and meanings. Listeners should be seen as the source of musical communion rather than merely passive recipients. In this perspective, the role of the listener becomes central to understanding the dynamics of musical communication and meaning.

2.7. Listening to Live and Recorded Music

The digitalization of music has given rise to numerous questions that pertain to its production and consumption, as well as its influence on music-listening culture, mostly within the context of live performances. Notably, the distinction between live and mediated listening experiences, as underscored by the British musicologist Erick Clarke, highlights their increasing interdependence. Recordings constitute paradoxical perceptual sources, as Clarke notes:

> On the one hand, they are real or digital objects made of shellac, vinyl, magnetic tape, silvered plastic, or coded on a hard drive or flash memory somewhere, from which sounds can be made by an appropriate technology; and on the other hand "they are 'portals' into a virtual world of instruments and voices – and what we then imagine that we hear are the sounds of those instruments and voices, rather than the sounds of the record, disc or file (2016, p. 26).

Recordings have left a powerful mark on the landscape of music consumption. They have significantly expanded one's musical horizons by providing access to an astonishing variety of music, thereby reaching a larger and more diverse audience. They have also established substantial traces in one's engagement with music, giving rise to novel musical forms.

Mark Katz's book, *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music* (2010), explores the profound transformation of music perception and the broader musical landscape within the era of recording. He illustrates how users of this technology engage with and respond to the distinct characteristics inherent in recordings, showcasing the significant impact these developments have had on musical life. Katz points out that the tangibility of recordings significantly influences how music is consumed:

> [...] the relative affordability of these musical objects is also significant, and has affected all types of listeners, whether the sweaty-palmed disk junkie or the casual consumer. Recordings are often (though not always) cheaper than tickets for concerts of the same fare, and their affordability may affect listener's access to music (ibid., p. 15).

Today, the act of listening to music, once limited by one's home or culture, has become commonplace, allowing individuals to experience music in diverse settings. The invisibility of performance significantly shapes the contemporary musical encounter, removing a vital avenue of communication. Performers communicate not just through sound but also via their facial expressions and body language, aspects that contribute to the overall experience of music.

Listening to recordings introduces an intriguing facet related to repetitions and expectations. Through repeated exposure, listeners might begin to normalize interpretive elements or even errors within a performance, integrating them not just into the rendition but into the essence of the music itself. As Katz suggests, there is a tendency that "listeners may come to think of an interpretation as the work itself" (ibid., p. 30).

For a significant number – potentially the majority – of various types of music listeners, music has become primarily an experience mediated by technology. The fact that audiences increasingly engage with mediatized renditions of performing arts rather than live performances "likely means that live performances are in direct competition with recorded performances" (Auslander 2008, p. 24). Live performances therefore live up to recordings and are often subconsciously compared to and influenced by the conventions and expectations shaped by recorded music (Dusman 1994).

Indeed, recordings have fundamentally altered one's ability to intimately acquaint oneself with performances, surpassing prior levels of familiarity. However, the American art philosopher Theodor Gracyk argues that recordings provide a somewhat diminished familiarity, as they "invariably disrupt the audience's capacity for full engagement with the actions producing the sounds" (1997, p. 143). Recordings divide performance into fixed segments, regardless of the inclinations of artists or audiences – "the perception of works as collections of seemingly disconnected moments rather than unified compositions" (Katz 2020, p. 41), an aspect which has been also pointed out by Adorno.

The manipulative aspects of creating recordings are crucial to understanding the art of recording. Splicing and overdubbing change time by combining sounds created at different moments, potentially spanning hours, days, or even years. Similarly, the manipulation of space is essential in recording, as engineers and producers can use various technologies to shape the spatial characteristics of the sound, creating immersive and unique listening experiences. These manipulations demonstrate the creative possibilities involved in the art of recording. Most listeners do not realize, the space we experience in recordings is constructed and manipulated. In fact, as Katz points out, "the very possibility of manipulating sound after its creation – from splicing to digital pitch correction – forces us to reformulate our ideas about composition, performance, and the relationship between the two" (ibid., p. 54).

Recordings offer listeners a level of control over the music. While composer-performers, those who interpret their compositions, have always existed, the era of recording has given rise to the concept of listener-performers and listener-composers. This shift in dynamics is transformative, as it not only influences the way one engages with music but also shapes one's fundamental perceptions of music – what it represents and the possibilities it holds. Recording technology does not just impact the practice of music:

> […] listeners need not simply receive music, for they have unprecedented control over the sounds they hear. There have always been composer-performers – artists who interpret their own works – but with recording we can conceive of listener-performers and listener-composers. Recording thus not only affects the practice of music, it shapes the very way in which we *think* about music: what it is, can be, and should be (ibid., pp. 54-55, italics added).

The literature review shows a comprehensive snapshot of scholarly perspectives combining various perspectives from the philosophy, anthropology, and sociology of listening to classical music in various dimensions including private and public, live and online, passive and active. It considers such highly relevant issues as listeners' typology, rational grounds of the Western way of music making, musical taste, and its correlation to social identities. A significant body of literature, particularly within cultural studies and sound studies, presents promising avenues for investigation of listener's autonomy and multisensorial ways of experiencing music with the continuing process of music digitalization.

Although the state of the art does not specifically address classical music, most of the concepts within the mentioned academic fields are critically examined as they can serve as essential elements for this research. They present a foundation for contextualizing the research analysis of ethnographic data presented below, as well as guide its directions.

In Chapter 4, for instance, building upon this current state of the art, the thesis explores the relationship between musical preferences and social class identities within Lisbon's concert venues. It deals with categorizing concert attendees based on their motivations for attending classical performances and separately examines listener behaviors through the lens of elitism concerns. Chapter 5 examines the environmental dynamics within concert halls in Lisbon, focusing on how sound and lighting regulations influence listeners. This discussion extends the examination of the listener's role within the concert space, emphasizing the understanding of listening not only at an individual level but also collectively. It explores how anticipated

listening conditions shape subjective perceptions and contribute to a distinct collective experience for each concert attendee. Furthermore, drawing on advancements in research within this domain, Chapter 6 proposes an analysis of how listening to recorded music influences the live concert experience in Lisbon's concert halls. It investigates the preparation techniques for listening and examines how the effect of familiarity, gained from listening to music to be performed, impacts the audience's concert experience.

CHAPTER 3

Methodologies

The research covers two concert seasons in Lisbon, during which a variety of classical music performances were attended. Ethnographic methods, such as participant observations and interviews, were utilized. Numerous interviews were conducted and analyzed to explore the experiences of concert attendees. The methodology of this study intertwined the sociological and anthropological concepts of "framing" and "body techniques" to probe the significance of attending classical music concerts for the public nowadays in various dimensions.

3.1. Classical Concert as a Research Framework

Following the American musicologist and composer Lawrence Kramer, a musical performance influences human existence on multiple levels: "how we listen, what we listen for, and with what significance" (2007, p. 10). By doing so, the dissertation seeks to illuminate the complex interplay between the concert experience and its participants, taking into consideration a specific concert frame with its aesthetics. Furthermore, Victor Turner's ritual analysis is employed to explore the cultural dynamics within concert spaces in Lisbon. Additionally, Cristopher Small's concept of "musicking" serves as a framework through which the formation of social connections among all participants in the performance can be comprehended.

3.1.1. Classical concert: Frame analysis

The investigation into auditory engagement with classical music during live performances is grounded in a theoretical construct that regards musical experience as "the result of a person's interaction with a musical stimulus in a specific situation, [which] encompasses material, social, spatio-temporal, and cultural characteristics" (Wald-Fuhrmann et al. 2021, p. 2). This construct draws upon a concept adapted from Erving Goffman's *Frame Analysis* (1986), wherein scholars

delineate various aspects that impact the perception of music as frames. These frames embody the entire set of characteristics attributed to the specific situation, aiding participants in comprehension and interpretation. The notion of the frame turns out to be highly productive, offering greater specificity than the broader idea of context, and is "typically used when researchers want to address factors that neither belong to the aesthetic object nor the individual" (Wald-Fuhrmann et al. 2021, p. 2).

There is a broad set of frames that can be examined within the phenomenon of listening to music which are all determined socially and culturally. These include the settings in which music is heard, such as concert halls, domestic spaces, automobiles, commercial establishments, and urban streets. The circumstances under which music is encountered also constitute significant frames, encompassing organized concerts, religious ceremonies, intimate dinners, and experiences both solitary and communal. Additionally, the medium through which music is delivered – ranging from live performances to recordings, radio broadcasts, and digital streaming – forms an essential part of this framework. Moreover, the discursive environments that represent the aesthetic appreciation of musical styles and genres, as well as the varying conceptualizations of music across different cultures, are also integral to this analysis.

These frames not only contribute to the appreciation and interpretation of music but also may determine whether sounds can be perceived as music. A single musical composition can obtain various musical characteristics and fulfill distinct purposes when heard in a shopping mall versus a concert hall. In the dissertation, this approach is defined through the identification of a relevant frame: that of a classical music concert which takes place in concert spaces (not always concert halls) and that involves a combination of an individuated approach to listening with the constructed collective experience within a shared sound space. In a broader view – the Western classical concert format with its traditions, customs and rituals – is explored.

The potentials unlocked by these frames are closely linked to the material characteristics of the environment since every sound requires its own space and source, as well as the sociocultural meanings linked to them. The architectural design of concert halls often functions as a sanctuary for anticipated high-fidelity musical performances. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that "such frames affect the music experience in bottom-up and top-down ways and act as moderator and mediator variables" (ibid., p. 2). Therefore, this dissertation does not only concern the social and cultural significance of listening to music in Lisbon's concert halls or the construction of aesthetic experiences related to specific genres. It also investigates various

listening approaches through the lens of the concert space itself. These range from social rituals in the foyer to concert etiquette and communication within the unique acoustic and visual environment of each concert frame.

Therefore, a classical concert may be examined as a distinctive frame for the act of music listening, as it shapes the aesthetic experience of the featured music. Two primary attributes of any concert performance are poised to guide and shape the listener's experience of the musical piece. The defining features of the classical concert as a frame are centered around its work's inherent aesthetics and the immediacy of its live performance (ibid, p. 4).

A classical concert is mostly a live event that showcases the dynamic relationship between performers and audience. Conducted in a special venue during a certain period, a classical concert reveals facets that center on the ability to observe musicians in the act of music creation and uncover the genuinely social and interactive character of the event as

> the sounds to which the audience attends are sequenced and coordinated by human performers in real-time, in the presence of an audience, for that audience. The audience is invited to observe the actions which generate these adjustments of acoustic properties, so that appreciation of a performance includes evaluation of these actions (and not merely of the acoustical results) (Gracyk 1997, p. 140).

Classical concert as a framework for musical engagement is designed "to provide optimal conditions for the purely aesthetic contemplation of (excellent performances of) great musical works together with like-minded people" (Wald-Fuhrmann et al. 2021, p. 4). This setting affords a distinctive concert experience characterized by a specific mode of listening in which one is delightfully engrossed in the music. The richness of this experience is further amplified by the multi-modal nature of the stimulus, the social integration that comes from being part of a collective, and the recognition of the performance's unique essence.

Audience members participate in a range of interactive processes during a performance. They can demonstrate support, interest, focus, and admiration, or conversely, their dissatisfaction. This interaction provides the performers with direct feedback, which they may acknowledge and respond to, thereby completing what is known in contemporary performance studies as "the autopoietic feedback loop" (Fischer-Lichte 2008). The unpredictable nature of a live performance – no one can foresee precisely how it will unfold – serves as a mechanism to maintain the audience's attention. This unpredictability means the sense of immediacy and

the event's unique character, promising a unique experience not only in terms of quantity but also quality. Such attributes of modern leisure culture are highly valued by contemporary audiences (Rebstock 2021).

3.1.2. Ritual foundations of a concert performance

Every classical music concert, when viewed as a phenomenon within society, embodies certain behavioral norms that are presumed to influence the listening experience. These norms range in their level of strictness, but all of them propose a highly ritualized experience within the classical concert setting. This ritualization is aimed at transforming the roles of those who attend the concerts. Attendees are not merely passive recipients of the music but are active participants in a cultural ritual that dictates certain modes of conduct, from dress codes to applause reactions. As it is demonstrated in Chapter 5, the spatial characteristics of concert spaces in Lisbon influence the formation of various rituals, encompassing norms of behavior within the concert hall and associated concert etiquette. These conventions serve to shift individual roles from ordinary life into the collective identity of the concert audience, where each person's behavior contributes to the shared experience and the collective reverence for the musical performance.

Erving Goffman, in his work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1956), argues that individuals are perpetually engaged in a form of role-playing, actively performing their various identities. People, according to Goffman, shape their personal and social realities daily through the enactment of roles. To accomplish this, they utilize socio-theatrical conventions while simultaneously creating personas that match specific situations. This dramaturgical perspective views everyday interactions as performances, where individuals like actors in a play adopt different characters for their audience:

> […] when one's activity occurs in the presence of other persons, some aspects of the activity are expressively accentuated and other aspects, which might discredit the fostered impression, are suppressed. It is clear that accentuated facts make their appearance in what we have called a front region; it should be just as clear that there may be another region – a back region or backstage – where the suppressed facts make an appearance (ibid., p. 69).

This perspective proves particularly valuable for analyzing social identities and their representation within the concert space, as elucidated in Chapter 4. It also examines the mechanisms enabling listeners to assume diverse roles based on their experiences and

integration into the concert environment, while scrutinizing the factors underpinning these roles.

Victor Turner advanced the concept that performances are often manifestations of rituals and social dramas. In *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (1969), he examines the transformative power of African rites of passage, studying the role that rituals play in providing social change. Turner proposed that rites of passage are inherently subversive to the existing social order as they open a space for imagining and exploring new possibilities. His examination of the rites of passage reveals that the individuals undergoing initiation are separated from their regular social contexts and temporarily cut off from their established roles and relationships. They enter a liminal, threshold state where they engage deeply with the sacred sphere or adopt significant cultural norms and symbols. This engagement is necessary for their subsequent reintegration into society with a new, stable social status (Turner 1977).

Drawing parallels between these theoretical frameworks and the practical experience of attending concerts is quite intuitive. When individuals attend a concert, they enact a ritualistic departure from their everyday lives, not only symbolically – following a certain dress code, for example – but also performatively through changes that affect them on a corporeal level. In this designated sacred space, they are temporally severed from the external world, situated in a specific place as dictated by their tickets, and their sensory focus narrows predominantly to auditory perception, with visual engagement minimized to the act of watching the performance, provoking the formation of a distinctive listening experience, as elaborated in Chapter 5.

3.1.3. Christopher Small's theory of "musicking"

To study the interrelationships among all participants in performance, the theory of "musicking" proposed by the New Zealand musician, educator, and lecturer Christopher Small, is of high methodological significance and relevance for this research. Small advocates for a theoretical approach that recognizes the web of relationships that emerge "not only between those organized sounds which are conventionally thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between the people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance" (1998, p. 13). He conceptualizes a musical performance as an encounter between humans that is mediated by sounds arranged in specific ways. As with any human interaction,

it takes place both "in a physical and a social setting, and those, too, have to be taken into account when we ask what meanings are being generated by a performance" (ibid., p. 10).

Small points out the exceptional status that Western classical music holds compared to other musical forms. On the one hand, it represents a unique achievement of artistic and intellectual accomplishment among global musical cultures, but on the other hand, classical music appeals to a relatively small audience, even within developed Western societies. Small's critique extends to the application of the term "music" in contemporary contexts. He observes that educational institutions predominantly focus on classical music. Musicology as a discipline has traditionally distinguished classical from other music forms, including Western popular music. According to Small, the serious study of Western popular music has been relegated to the realm of ethnomusicology.

Small highlights a complex contradiction that speaks to the essence of music itself. On one side, classical music is often regarded as the standard for the musical experience, particularly in the way classical training is a foundational preparation for any musical endeavor. However, nowadays, classical music is seen as a distinct entity, one that should not be approached or analyzed in the same manner as other forms of music, which are also significant but in different ways, particularly in terms of their social meanings. Small navigates this discourse with precision. His cautious approach underscores the delicacy of challenging academic norms and the complexities involved in studying various musical traditions.

The perspective on the autonomy of the musical work and its inherent meanings is pivotal to understanding his idea. Small contends that "*performance does not exist in order to present musical works, but rather, musical works exist in order to give performers something to perform*" (ibid., p. 8, italics added). This insight changes the focus from the music composition itself and its analytical interpretation to the interactive acts of performers and listeners. The essence lies in understanding the activities of individuals engaged in a musical event, which then reveals the true nature and purpose of the performance and the role it plays in human life.

Small's view radically reconceptualizes music from being an object to an activity. He advocates for the term "musicking" to express music as an action. This concept implies that music is created collectively through the interaction of performers and listeners. In this sense, music is not merely a sound but an activity that involves a multitude of participations: "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by

rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (ibid., p. 10). Small emphasizes that musical pieces do not come for musicking, and they are not even necessary for the act of musicking to occur. This perspective is supported by the various examples from musical expressions of non-Western cultures in which "there is no such thing as a musical work, in which there are only the activities of singing, playing, listening – and most probably, dancing" (ibid., p. 11).

3.2. Techniques of Listening as an Analytical Tool

The central explanatory concept of this research is the notion of "body techniques," which emphasizes practical approaches to listening to music. By integrating this concept, the dissertation incorporates the idea of "music worlds" to examine the audience's embodied practices. This encourages a more precise investigation of the music perception process by considering the involvement of all parties – musicians, audience members, and even the concert environment itself. The thesis's approach to understanding how people listen to classical music calls for a multidisciplinary perspective that retains a strong ecological component in exploring the audience experience. This ecological component views the concert as a dynamic interaction between the listener and the environment, encompassing both perceptual and spatial dimensions of music listening.

3.2.1. Body and listening techniques

Marcel Mauss's concept of "body techniques" offers a valuable lens through which to understand the specialized listening skills that are experienced within concert hall settings as described by Small. Mauss highlights that "the body is a man's first and most natural instrument. Or more accurately, not to speak of instruments, man's first and most natural technical object, and at the same time technical means, is his body" (1979, p. 104).

Mauss compiles a comprehensive inventory of body techniques for scholarly exploration, encompassing activities such as sleep, waking and rest, walking, running, dancing, jumping, climbing, descending, swimming, hygiene, eating, drinking, sex, etc. While direct sensory processes such as visual observation, auditory engagement, gustatory experience, olfaction, and

tactile interaction are not explicitly cataloged, these sensory activities are indeed referenced within the discussions of other techniques (ibid., pp. 112-119). These techniques include special actions or "physio-psycho-sociological assemblages of series of actions. These actions are more or less habitual and more or less ancient in the life of the individual and the history of the society" (ibid., p. 120).

This perspective frames the body itself as a tool that can be utilized in various cultural practices, including the act of listening to music. Within the context of a concert hall, the audience engages in a collective discipline of listening that is both cultural and physical. Body techniques in this setting involve the way individuals use their bodies to experience music – how they sit, how they minimize their movements, how they focus their attention, and how they may be internally responding to the performance, as explored in Chapter 5. In a way, the concert hall experience trains the body to become an instrument of reception, tuning it to the nuances of the musical performance. This training is not just about the passive reception of sound but an embodied engagement with the music, informed by the social and cultural codes that govern the concert-going experience. Consequently, the factors of engagement and enjoyment, analyzed in Chapter 6.

Indeed, listening techniques embody practical approaches to auditory engagement, shaping not only methods of interacting with the world but also serving as mechanisms of power that regulate the listener's body (Foucault 2008). These techniques are connected to the embodied practices of daily life that are honed through social interaction, necessitating adaptations of skills (Goffman 1971). Moreover, drawing from this theoretical framework, Jonathan Sterne introduces the term "audible techniques," which he defines as "a concrete set of limited and related practices of listening and practical orientations toward listening" (2003, p. 90). Sterne notes that media and communication technologies function as prosthetic senses, extending and enhancing our natural sensory capabilities:

> If the media do, indeed, extend our senses, they do so as crystallized versions and elaborations of people's prior practices – or techniques – of using their senses. So, although *technique* and *technology* are terms that clearly bleed into one another, the distinction is crucial for the history of sound. *Technique* [...] is a learned skill, a set of repeatable activities within a limited number of framed contexts (ibid., p. 92, italics added).

Besides, in his remarks on technical listening, Adorno explores the intersection of musical logic and listener comprehension, suggesting that "the location of this logic is technique" (1976,

p. 5). He posits that an analytical and technically attuned ear can discern the structural and compositional facets of music, which are integral to grasping its meanings.

Listening techniques are closely linked with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "habitus". Bourdieu describes the habitus as a form of socially conditioned subjectivity including all the forms of informal knowledge that constitute social existence. It is a mix of customs, body techniques, social perspectives, styles, and orientations – with

> the objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to the intellectualist idealism, and the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, the *habitus*, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions (1992, p. 52, italics added).

As a system, the habitus informs and directs the overarching behavioral patterns and potential life paths of individuals. One's musical preferences are often acquired in youth and become deeply embedded within the framework of their intended social class hierarchy. This initial exposure and ongoing engagement with music are part of the habitus into which an individual is born. Simultaneously, this habitus can be instrumentally acquired by listeners who attend classical concerts outside of an entrenched family tradition or class preference. This becomes an important research lens in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, which studies the effect of elitism inside the public and explores strategies for fitting into the concert audience.

Judith Becker, the American scholar of the musical cultures of South and Southeast Asia, extends this concept within an anthropological perspective, integrating the habitus into the study of listening practices, thereby examining how societal and cultural contexts shape and define how individuals experience and interpret music. Becker's work underscores the significance of the habitus in understanding how people engage with musical practices and the broader implications for social identity and belonging. The habitus of listening entails not an absolute necessity or rule, but

> an inclination, a disposition to listen with a particular kind of focus, to expect to experience particular kinds of emotion, to move with certain stylized gestures, and to interpret the meaning of the sounds and one's emotional responses to the musical event in somewhat (never totally) predictable ways (2004, p. 130).

The way people listen to music often occurs without conscious reflection on the distinctiveness of their listening style. Becker notes that most listening styles are learned

"through unconscious imitation of those who surround us and with whom we continually interact" (ibid., p. 130). Becker's insight draws attention to the deeply ingrained nature of listening practices, embedded within the fabric of social interactions and cultural experiences.

Both music listeners and musicians partake in a developmental process through physical and mental actions that ultimately modify their internal frameworks as well as their external interactions with the world. The experience of music and the emotions it evokes are elements of a broader, dynamic event that includes the actions of numerous individuals, with the entire happening coalescing into a cohesive whole. This whole is continuously reshaped by gradual structural adjustments among the participants.

Becker asserts that distinctive modes of conscious experience, such as the emotional reactions influenced by music, or a cultivated habitus of listening, arise as "a phenotypic feature of humankind" (ibid., p. 150). This suggests that the capacity for and manner of engaging with music is a characteristic trait of human beings, one that manifests across varied cultural landscapes. This trait is not static but is modeled over time by the collective and individual experiences of music within different social contexts.

This perspective resonates with Small's assertion that the cultivation of musicking is a lifelong process: the gift of musicking is not a static attribute but rather one that develops and evolves throughout an individual's life. This growth is influenced by continuous learning and the social interactions that shape our engagement with music, as shown, for example, in Chapter 6, in which the connection between the pleasure derived from listening to music in the collective experience of the concert hall ultimately turns out to be a matter of ear training. This training involves acquiring skills that enable one to engage in the listening experience on a deeper level.

3.2.2. From "art worlds" to "music worlds"

The shift towards examining music within its public dimension opens the exploration of the process of musical perception as a collective action involving all engaged parties, thereby conceptualizing art as a communal activity. In his landmark book *Art Worlds* (1982), the American sociologist Howard Becker posits that a "work of art" should be considered an active process, referring to creating and maintaining the sensory experiences that are collectively recognized as "art." Small's concept of "musicking" aligns with this viewpoint, emphasizing

that each participant in the artistic exchange, from the composer and performer to the attendant and audience, plays a vital role. Becker's notion of "art worlds" encapsulates these communal networks of artistic collaboration, expanding the understanding of art beyond individual creation or consumption, framing it instead as the product of an interconnected web of activities and relationships within a community dedicated to a shared artistic endeavor.

The concept of "music worlds," developed by the sociologist Nick Crossley, projects the idea of "art worlds" to music, focusing on the various collectives that engage with music in its various forms. Within this framework, the concert frame is scrutinized as a set of conventions, spatial arrangements, acoustic settings, and the architectural features of concert halls that may influence the state of listeners.

The notion of "music worlds" used by Crossley is a concept that "denotes a social space centered upon a self-identified musical style; a space set aside from other concerns, at least to some extent, where music is a primary focus and where participants share a set of musical preferences and knowledge" (2015, p. 2). This approach is particularly applied in Chapter 5 of the dissertation, which investigates the environmental effects of listening to music in concert halls in Lisbon. It includes detailed analyses of the processes involved in entering the classical concert venue, the problem of acquaintance with the concert space, and the regimes of witnessing a live performance.

Crossley suggests that a concert is not just a musical event but a complex social phenomenon that is shaped by a host of material and cultural factors. This framework thus acknowledges the multifaceted nature of musical engagement, where the physical setting, social context, and cultural practices surrounding music performance play integral roles in shaping the auditory and emotional experience of the audience. The concept of "body techniques" is of high importance in this case as it enables a dual focus: "to capture, on the one side, the know-how and understanding (cultural competences) involved, and on the other, the acquired and socially-distributed character of that competences […]" (ibid., p. 3).

Crossley underlines that the body techniques involved in musical appreciation are connected to the aesthetic enjoyment derived from recognizing musical patterns. He suggests that "to acquire or refine one's listening technique(s) is to learn a new way of deriving pleasure from a particular type of music" (ibid., p. 8), aligning with the views of the pragmatist musicologist Leonard Meyer. He contends that the recognition of musical patterns is frequently

experienced by the shared conventions among composers, performers, and audiences – a concept referred to as mutual tuning in. This shared understanding enriches the listener's ability to anticipate and enjoy the structural nuances of the music, leading to a deeper and more satisfying aesthetic experience (Meyer 1994).

Acknowledging the diverse ways audiences, artists, and attendants physically engage with music, Crossley offers a deeper study of the relationship between body techniques and the elements of music worlds. He explores how these bodily practices intersect with the social networks through which individuals connect, the conventions that standardize and facilitate shared understanding, the resources that are mobilized to produce and experience music, and the places that shape the conditions under which music is performed and heard.

Crossley posits that body techniques represent the embodiment of conventions within the habitual actions of participants. These techniques are not simply actions but are ingrained practices that reveal how conventions become second nature to individuals engaged in musicking. Body techniques also function as resources that hold significance on both collective and individual levels. Collectively, the sustainability of a music world depends on the availability, mobilization, and combination of various resources, among which body techniques are crucial. On an individual scale, active participation within a music world is contingent upon the possession and proficiency of certain body techniques.

Body techniques are intrinsically linked to the social networks that give structure to music worlds, with this relationship manifesting in three key aspects. Firstly, body techniques typically occur through interactions within social networks, as developed in Chapter 4 which scrutinizes the effect of networking at classical concerts. These networks often provide collaborative spaces where individuals learn and enhance their skills. Secondly, networks are conducive to the creation of conventions. Finally, body techniques, once established as conventions, influence the shape and dynamics of networks. The shared understanding of these techniques helps to define group boundaries, establish standards, and facilitate coordination among network members.

The relationship between body techniques and the places of a music world is threefold. These places often host the performance and appreciation of the music worlds defining body techniques. Simultaneously, the embodied practices of individuals within these spaces can transform mere locations into iconic sites of a particular music world. Furthermore, these places

function as hubs of learning and socialization, where newcomers observe and internalize the essential body techniques, absorbing the modes of appearance, movement, and overall comportment that are celebrated and encouraged within the community.

3.2.3. Ecological approach in audience research

In this dissertation, the anthropological perspective of the methodology design is enriched by incorporating an ecological approach to researching audience experience that takes into account the complex interplay between the listener and their "sound environment" (Reybrouck 2015), recognizing that meaning in music is shaped by the listener's engagement with both the immediate musical sounds and the broader acoustic space.

Eric Clarke advocates for an ecological approach to music research, drawing parallels with how ecology examines organisms in relation to their environments. He uses this ecological model to explore the relationship between the perceiver and its musical environment. Perception, in this framework, is understood as the process of becoming aware of one's environment and continually adapting to it. Extending this to music, Clarke suggests that "the perception of musical meaning is therefore the awareness of meaning in music while listening to it" (2005, pp. 4-5). Thus, many principles of ethnomusicology, particularly its focus on the interconnections between musical practices and their respective cultural and natural contexts, resonate with an ecological perspective.

This ecological view presents the way listening is shaped by different environments, as demonstrated by Steven Feld in his research on the Kaluli people (1990). Feld describes the Kaluli concept of "lift-up-over sounding," which serves not only as a structural element of Kaluli music-making but also as a broader principle in their auditory culture. The Kaluli listening experience is attuned to direction, timbre, and texture, indicative of a complex sonic environment where conversations are multifaceted, involving multiple speakers, audiences, and overlapping voices, all of which are understood simultaneously.

The cognitive perspective on perceptual skills suggests that they evolve through knowledge, which directs perception, helping to interpret and organize the incomplete information presented by the environment. In contrast, perceptual learning works "as progressive *differentiation*, perceivers becoming increasingly sensitive to distinctions within

the stimulus information that were always there but previously undetected" (Clarke 2005, p. 22, italics added). This perceptual acuity is not about adding new information but about discerning more from what is already present. This insight enriches the understanding of how listening techniques function: they refer to the various methods and strategies individuals use to actively engage with music, involving conscious efforts to understand, interpret, and appreciate music through adopting a certain acoustic space.

Clarke argues that the perceived immediacy and directness of our engagement with the world are not mysterious or unexplainable phenomena. Rather, they are the results of a complex process involving adaptation, perceptual learning, and the symbiotic relationship between perception and action. This suggests that public's immediate experience of the environment is shaped by a history of interactions and modifications that refine their perceptual faculties over time, enabling them to discern and respond to the surroundings with increasing sophistication. This perspective places perception at the center of understanding how the audience navigates and makes sense of the continuous flow of sensory information that characterizes both their natural and cultural realities. Thus,

> the ecological approach to perception offers an alternative view that gives a coherent account of the directness of listeners' perceptual responses to a variety of environmental attributes, ranging from the spatial location and physical source of musical sounds to their structural function and cultural and ideological value (ibid., p. 46).

The ecological approach to music has notable strengths. First, it prioritizes identifying the constants that determine the range of musical experiences available to listeners with diverse perceptual abilities. Second, it provides a framework for understanding the unity of music's physical sources, structural attributes, and cultural meanings.

Clarke acknowledges the differences among phenomena and the ways they can be defined, as well as the reciprocal relationship between a listener's capabilities and the opportunities presented by the environment. Yet, he also posits a universality in the perceptual principles that underlie our sensitivity to these phenomena. The scholar defines perception as "a relationship between environmentally available information and the capacities, sensitivities, and interests of a perceiver" (ibid., p. 91). This definition encapsulates the ecological approach's core principle: the interdependence of the perceiver and the environment, with the understanding that perception is shaped by the perceiver's intrinsic attributes in concert with the external world's informational offerings.

Thus, the thesis digs into an examination of listening practices within the context of public classical music concerts. It acknowledges the deeply ritualized nature of such events, where attendees not only observe the performance but also experience their own "performance." This social aspect, where listeners are actively involved in shaping the musical event, serves as a methodological standpoint for identifying and understanding various listening practices in the context of musicking.

These practices, conceptualized as listening techniques, consider both bodily and cultural components. Given that these techniques unfold within the social dynamics of the concert setting, the notion of "music worlds" emerges as a central analytical framework. Musical worlds encompass a range of elements including social conventions and networks, described in Chapter 4.

Additionally, an ecological perspective is employed to examine how listening techniques intersect with the environment, as shown in Chapter 5, considering factors such as different concert hall configurations and acoustic properties. Furthermore, in Chapter 6 listening techniques are manifested to conduct an aesthetic analysis that delves into the impact of digitalization on audience habits and explores the intricate relationship between musical experiences, engagement, and enjoyment.

3.3. Ethnographic Fieldwork

The present research spanned the 2021/2022 and 2022/2023 concert seasons, during which 52 classical music concerts were attended, including a range of genres from symphonic music to solo recitals (detailed in Appendix 1). Ethnographic methods, including participant observations and empirical data gathering through interviews, were employed. A total of 46 interviews, varying in format, were conducted, and subsequently analyzed to gain insights into the experiences of concert participants (detailed in Appendix 2).

It should be mentioned that the 2021/2022 concerts season, when the ethnographic fieldwork began, faced significant challenges due to COVID-19 restrictions. Initially, concerts were cancelled altogether. As restrictions eased, concerts resumed with limited audience capacity, allowing only half of the seats to be filled. Additionally, seating arrangements were adjusted to ensure physical distancing and chamber groups were featured on stage to

accommodate these constraints. These changes had a noticeable impact on the overall atmosphere and attendance of the concerts. Some audience members were hesitant to attend due to the requirement of wearing masks and maintaining distance from others.

Conducting interviews and finding willing respondents proved to be a challenge during the COVID-19 pandemic. Concert attendees were understandably cautious about socializing and interacting with strangers due to health concerns. This reluctance to engage in conversation hindered the process of organizing interviews and gathering valuable insights from concert attendees. However, as the year progressed, the situation gradually improved, and by the end of 2021, restrictions for vaccinated attendees were lifted, allowing for a more normalized concert experience.

3.3.1. Sampling concerts: *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* and *Centro Cultural de Belém*

The fieldwork for this study was carried out at two prominent concert venues in Lisbon: the Grand Auditorium of *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* and the Grand Auditorium of *Centro Cultural de Belém*. These venues are distinguished by their focus on classical music performances, offering a diverse repertoire that includes symphonic, chamber, and solo programs. The selection of these specific concert halls was influenced by their notable positions within the Lisbon musical culture. Additionally, the research aiming to examine the listening practices of audiences within varied frameworks, made these venues suitable for analyzing how different architectural and cultural settings might influence audience engagement and listening behaviors.

The Gulbenkian Auditorium is the home of Portugal's largest musical collective – *Coro e Orquestra Gulbenkian*. The foundation is a well-respected cultural institution in Portugal and its auditorium has a reputation for hosting high-quality performances of classical music. The Grand Auditorium of the CCB, on the other hand, is a relatively young concert venue. The musical resident of this hall is *Orquestra de Câmara Portuguesa*. All the locations have traditionally been centers of attraction for classical music lovers in Lisbon. Each venue has a unique history and tradition, with various programs and performers, architectural, and geographical determinants that diversify audiences and offer them different listening practices. Therefore, these places demonstrate a rich field for ethnographic fieldwork and analysis aimed at revealing the interconnections between the specificities of predetermined concert frames and

their influence on the public's experience. The study of these concert venues and their audiences offers valuable insights into how cultural institutions and physical spaces shape musical experiences, as well as the role of classical music in contemporary Portuguese society.

The present study also investigated specific concert venues in cultural institutions that do not have direct involvement in the performance of classical music. In the context of Lisbon, these venues play a crucial role in promoting classical music and providing orchestras and ensembles without permanent venues with the opportunity to perform in their spaces. The venues studied in this research are diverse in their purpose and the way they shape the concert frame.

Among the venues analyzed, spaces that can accommodate orchestras and large audiences stand out. For instance, *Picadeiro Real do Museu Nacional dos Coches*, originally built as a riding arena for the Portuguese royal family, the building has been renovated and converted into a concert venue that can host orchestras and large audiences. The venue is known for its excellent acoustic quality and has become a popular concert venue for classical music performances, including those by *Orquestra Metropolitana de Lisboa*.

The choice of venues for OML's performances is noteworthy, with concerts frequently taking place in culturally significant settings such as museums, churches, and institutions like *Auditório da Reitoria da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa*, *Aula Magna da Reitoria da Universidade de Lisboa*, and *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, which are not exclusively intended for concert activities. These concerts mostly attract audiences from the academic sphere, as well as music connoisseurs, and they are aimed at the public who are familiar with the classical music repertoire.

In addition to museum halls, museums, such as *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* and *Museu do Oriente* transform into settings for classical concerts, often featuring chamber music performances. These events draw in a broad audience, from seasoned classical music enthusiasts to those who may not have previously engaged with this genre. These venues are unable to host large numbers of performers due to limited space, making them ideal for chamber music performances. It is also where *Solistas da Metropolitana* often perform their concerts. Tickets for these concerts are either free or have a symbolic price, which has a strong influence on the structure and preferences of the audiences attending these concerts.

Lisbon's churches, with their architecture and exceptional acoustics, are also favored venues for classical music performances, including chamber music and choral works. *Igreja de São Roque*, for instance, is renowned for its Early and Baroque music festivals. *Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora* located in the *Alfama* neighborhood of Lisbon is a historic church known for its organ evenings that are open to any listener. The church's organ is one of the largest and most impressive in Lisbon and has been used in classical music performances by organists and ensembles. *Igreja do Menino Deus* and *Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Encarnação* have also established themselves as alternative venues for free chamber concerts, often with rare instrumental and vocal programs.

3.3.2. Observations and empirical data collection

The initial stage of this ethnographic research comprised participant observations, which were conducted to gain insight into how music influences listeners' behavior within the context of a concert setting. The objective was to observe and document concrete changes in behavior that could be attributed to the musical environment and the experiences of the attendees. This phase was crucial for understanding the interactive dynamics between the music being performed and the audience's response *in situ*.

The participant observations conducted during the study were intended to be covert. The researcher assumed the role of a typical concertgoer, blending in with the audience to share a common experiential space. This approach allowed the observer not only to undergo the transformative effects of listening to music alongside other attendees but also to record the reactions and behaviors of fellow listeners. By participating as an audience member, the observer could gain an understanding of the concert experience while concurrently gathering observational data on the interplay between the music and the audience.

Participant observations were carried out within the concert hall or other venues hosting classical music performances. The public's behavior was the primary focus during the time the audience members spent inside the venue, meaning before, during, and after the performance, where their movements were restricted by the formal concert setting. Each audience member occupied a seat as determined by one's ticket, except in the case of open-air concerts. Furthermore, these observations were specifically focused on those concertgoers seated near the observer, as these were the individuals whose behaviors and reactions could be monitored

and documented. The proximity allowed the observer to capture subtle reactions and interactions among listeners, providing rich data on the immersive experience of the concert environment and the varied responses to the musical performance, as demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6.

The research's design included a selection of key events within the concert season. The reason behind attending over 50 concerts can be summarized as an effort to experience a diverse range of venues and audiences. Free concerts held in museums or churches attract a different demographic compared to performances by the FCG, which itself diversifies its audience by offering free and weekend concerts, as well as festivals with affordable ticket prices. These were concerts featuring diverse musical pieces and involving symphony orchestras, chamber collectives, as well as soloists. Observing the audience's behavior across various types of concerts featuring different classical music repertoire – from symphony music to vocal recitals – was utmost. This included traditional indoor concert hall settings, as well as museum and church venues, open-air performances, performances scheduled on both weekends and weekdays, and programs that ranged from the sophisticated to the more popular repertoire.

This varied approach across different concert contexts within each season was crucial to gaining access to a broad spectrum of live concert experiences. By witnessing how the audience was engaged with different musical environments and programs, it was possible to identify and document the listening techniques employed by the public to experience music in different settings and scenarios.

3.3.3. Participant sampling and interviewing methods

The research methodology involved conducting interviews with classical concert attendees, utilizing both structured and semi-structured formats. These interviews aimed to understand the significance of live classical music for attendees, exploring how a specific setting of the concert influences their listening experiences, and the various social rituals and habits associated with it. This qualitative data was critical for establishing a link between the audience's listening practices and the broader social and historical contexts in which the music was heard and experienced. The narratives provided by the interviewees offered a window into their corporeal and cultural participation in the concert experience.

As previously noted, almost 50 interviews of various types were conducted in diverse locations, depending on the context of the concert, for random survey purposes. In-depth interviews were arranged separately in terms of time and location, often occurring in settings chosen by the interviewees themselves, such as cafes or parks. On occasions, these interviews were also conducted in concert halls, typically before performances, for the convenience of the participants. All in-depth and life story interviews were carried out with the explicit written consent of the respondents, who completed consent forms (see Appendix 5) acknowledging their understanding of the research objectives and the intended use of the collected data.

While not all respondents opted to disclose their identities or be acknowledged, many preferred to remain anonymous. Consequently, a coding system was adopted to denote the date, time, and location of each interview. For example, "40-50 y.o. male / RPS CCB February 2023" indicates the age range and sex of the interviewee, followed by the type of interview, location, and date. In the case of in-depth and life story interviews, the location was not specified.

Random public surveys typically were brief, often featuring open-ended questions that occasionally concluded without a definite endpoint. Responses varied: some informants hesitated to share experiences, while others asked to meet them after the concert but simply disappeared. However, when participants did engage, these interactions generally lasted no more than ten minutes. In contrast, prearranged in-depth interviews and life history sessions could extend for an hour or longer, contingent upon the availability of the respondent. Regardless of format, all interviews were recorded.

The selection criteria for interviewees were specific: the respondents were not professional musicians and did not engage in music-making for a career or financial benefit. This criterion ensured that the study captured the experiences of lay listeners, whose interaction with music is primarily as an audience. The diversity of the interviewees – from those with formal musical training to those without any, from those who play musical instruments to those unfamiliar with musical notation, and from seasoned amateurs to first-time concertgoers – enriched the study with a wide range of perspectives on the classical concert experience.

Semi-structured interviews, or random public surveys (RPS), 30 in total, were carried out with random listeners at times that would not disrupt the concert experience – specifically before the concert, during intermissions, and after the performance. These interviews were designed to study the participants' underlying motivations for attending, their musical

preferences, and the nature of their listening practices and experiences. Through this process, the research sought to uncover the personal and cultural factors that shape the concert experience and to understand the role that live classical music plays in the lives of the attendees (see Appendix 3).

Structured in-depth interviews (IDI), 10 in total, provided an additional methodological approach, targeting Lisbon-based classical concert attendees with varied demographic backgrounds and established listening habits. These interviews were prearranged and involved participants from different age groups to gain a comprehensive understanding of their long-term engagement with the music world. The objective was to get data about their connections to the music world and to investigate how the concert environment influences their listening experiences, utilizing a predetermined set of questions (detailed in Appendix 4).

Structured interviews were also arranged with individuals from *Círculo Richard Wagner* (Richard Wagner Circle), a non-profit association that promotes cultural initiatives aimed at deepening and spreading the knowledge of Richard Wagner's work and its impact on today's concert life. These interviews were intended to take the form of informal discussions, allowing for an in-depth exploration of personal listening trajectories and the significance of music listening in an individual's life. Interviewees were selected based on their pronounced interest in classical music and their extensive history of concert attendance, marking them as storytellers with valuable experiences and insights. These avid concertgoers provided a rich narrative about their relationship with music, thus offering a nuanced perspective on the role of listening in their personal and cultural contexts.

Additionally, it was deemed beneficial to observe key participants throughout two concert seasons, documenting their engagement, interests, and responses to the performances in various concert settings. This long-term observation aimed to garner a comprehensive understanding of the listening practices and the evolving musical experiences of the dedicated audience members. By following their journey, it was possible to capture the continuity and changes in their concert-going habits and the emotional and intellectual impacts of their musical encounters.

Thus, 6 life-story interview sessions (LSI) were carried out with two key informants chosen for their extensive concert-going experience and willingness to disclose their concert schedules to the researcher. The researcher was attending various performances with two key informants

throughout two concert seasons, which provided a valuable opportunity to collect detailed data on their musical preferences, listening strategies, and criteria for evaluating their concert experiences.

This longitudinal approach to data collection allowed for a richer, more nuanced understanding of the informants' engagement with the classical music world. By tracking their concert attendance over an extended period, it became possible to observe patterns and changes in their behavior, gaining insights into how their listening practices and evaluative frameworks evolved. These life-story interviews served as a lens through which to view the lived experiences of dedicated classical music listeners, contributing depth to the study's exploration of the listening phenomenon within the concert setting.

The transcribed interviews were subjected to an analysis, structured around several analytical categories that aligned with the research methodology. The first category included demographic information, musical preferences, reasons for attending concerts, and the social dynamics of listening to music in a concert setting. It aimed to build a profile of the participants and understand the individual and collective factors influencing their concert experiences, as analyzed in Chapter 4.

The second, environmental category presented the impact of the concert environment within three distinct levels: the protocols and guidance provided for entering concert venues, the auditory and visual settings within the venues, and the elements that enhance the experience of witnessing a live performance. This category, examined in Chapter 5, shows how the physical and procedural aspects of concert venues contribute to the overall experience of attendees.

The third category delved into the components that shape the aesthetic reception of music. It included considerations such as preparatory activities undertaken by listeners before concerts, media practices that frame the listening experience, ways in which knowledge about the music influences reception, listener familiarity with specific musical genres, and the impact of different performance interpretations. All these topics, as well as factors such as pre-concert expectations and the development of engagement and enjoyment during the performance, are scrutinized in Chapter 6.

These analytical categories facilitated a comprehensive examination of the interview data, providing insights into the complex interplay between the listeners, the concert environment, and the aesthetic experiences engendered by classical music performances.

CHAPTER 4

The Public of Classical Concerts in Lisbon and Its Traits

4.1. Concert Attendees and Social Demographics

Examining the social demography of classical concert audiences in Lisbon involves the exploration of various aspects. This includes scrutinizing the social makeup of the audience, identifying its characteristics, examining how personal background factors affect the experience of listening to classical music in public settings and understanding how musical preferences, particularly a fondness for classical music over other genres, contribute to the formation of social identities and impact the overall social composition of concert audiences. By focusing mainly on two orchestras, namely *Orquestra Fundação Gulbenkian* and *Orquestra Metropolitana de Lisboa*, this chapter illustrates the distinct traits demonstrated by audiences based on their relations to these institutions.

The FCG orchestra is a symphony orchestra which primarily gives concerts at the Gulbenkian Auditorium. This venue, which was inaugurated in 1969 as part of the building of the FCG, has a capacity of over 1230 people. It has a reputation for hosting high-quality performances of classical music. The auditorium's design is notable for its elegant, modernist architecture, which provides excellent acoustics and an intimate atmosphere for performances. At the heart of each music season organized by the FCG are the performances of its two resident artistic groups: orchestral and choral. Collaborating with highly esteemed artists, every concert season these ensembles offer a performance set which "ensures an eclectic programme, providing a musical offer of excellence" (Gulbenkian 2022b).

Reflecting on its historical evolution, it is notable that the FCG initially established a permanent orchestral group comprising merely twelve members, named *Orquestra de Câmara Gulbenkian*. Over more than five decades, this ensemble has experienced significant growth. Today, the FCG orchestra boasts a composition of 60 instrumentalists, a size that enables them

to navigate a diverse range of musical genres. Its repertoire spans from Baroque to contemporary pieces, with a notable emphasis on traditional symphonic music – a key element that contributes to its status as a world-renowned orchestra (Gulbenkian 2023a; 2023b).

As for the OML, since its inception in 1992, it has been developing its mission to promote classical music among all city dwellers. Over the years, it has become a vital contributor to the cultural vitality of Lisbon and other cities across Portugal. The orchestra has seen considerable growth and now boasts a roster of around 80 musicians. Its commitment to musical excellence and its significant role in enriching the cultural life of Portugal have been acknowledged and celebrated. The orchestra showcases its musical prowess not only in Lisbon's esteemed concert venues, such as the CCB but also across various cities in Portugal and on the international stage (Metropolitana 2023c).

Throughout each season, the musicians of the OML often form smaller ensembles to perform recitals, offering audiences a more intimate musical experience. These recitals provide an opportunity for listeners to appreciate the rich chamber music repertoire. These concerts are often accessible to a wide audience, either being free or offered at a lower ticket price. The concerts of the OML frequently take place at the Grand Auditorium of the CCB, a relatively young concert venue, opening in 1992 with a seating capacity of 1500 places. The CCB is a large cultural complex that suggests a range of facilities, including exhibition spaces, performance venues, and restaurants, thereby offering a diverse cultural offer.

The OML has an educational branch that offers various courses and workshops explicitly crafted to cultivate the skills and experience necessary for a successful career in classical music. At *Academia Nacional Superior de Orquestra*, young musicians can study and collaborate with seasoned musicians and orchestra conductors. A pivotal aspect of the ANSO program is *Orquestra Académica Metropolitana* which provides students with the chance to perform in public at concerts and during numerous festivals, enabling them to apply their acquired knowledge in a real-world setting, build confidence, and become acquainted with the stage (Metropolitana 2023d).

Another important musical collective that features young professionals in Lisbon is *Orquestra de Câmara Portuguesa.* It is composed of some of the most talented instrumentalists of the recent Portuguese generation. Its structure fosters a collaborative environment where young musicians work alongside experienced professionals, creating a rich setting for the

exchange and cultivation of musical expertise. This blend of youthful enthusiasm and seasoned artistry not only improves the professional growth of emerging musicians but also brings life to the overall musical output of the ensemble. The OCP posits itself at the forefront of social responsibility in the arts, acknowledging the crucial role of fostering cultural and social awareness within the community. Its commitment extends beyond performance to include impactful social and educational initiatives (Orquestra de Câmara Portuguesa 2023b).

The OCP has developed a special program, *Jovem Orquestra Portuguesa,* specifically designed to nurture the skills and experiences of young musicians. Through this program, the OCP provides a platform for emerging talent to hone their craft, offering invaluable opportunities for artistic development and professional growth. The JOP program represents the OCP investment in the future of classical music, ensuring that the next generation of musicians receives the guidance and support needed to excel (Orquestra de Câmara Portuguesa 2023a).

4.1.1. The social structure of classical concert audiences

When discussing the social structure of classical concert audiences in Lisbon, the initial step involves identifying the characteristics that delineate this structure. Generally, the composition of the classical concert public exhibits similarities to audiences in other European and North American cities. A study published in 2002 revealed that approximately half of the attendees at classical concerts in the United States of America were 65 years old or older, and this demographic trend has persisted over the past two decades (Tommasini 2020).

While examining the age distribution of concert audiences in Lisbon, the majority comprises individuals in the middle-aged group (between 40 and 65 years old) and the older age category (over 65 years old), particularly within the audience of the FCG. Notably, this group of attendees consists of regular concertgoers holding season tickets for various concert cycles, including orchestral music, chamber music, recitals, and Metropolitan Opera performance transmissions. Over two concert seasons, the demographic composition of the older generation segment appears relatively invariable.

Conversely, the middle-aged audience displays a more dynamic pattern. Unlike the older generation, there are fewer regular attendees among them, and their presence varies from one

concert to another. They tend to attend concerts selectively based on personal preferences, and their attendance at FCG concerts is less frequent compared to the more sustainable participation of the older audience. A distinct group includes young listeners, who represent a minority in concert audiences. Frequently, young individuals are found in small clusters, such as family groups, or music students attending rare performances or events featuring their favorite artists.

The concerts organized by the FCG are typically targeted at a sophisticated or well-informed audience, as indicated by their subscription-based sales, the selection of programs and performers, and the pricing of tickets. These factors collectively suggest a focus on providing high-quality musical experiences for those with an educated interest in music. However, to make these concerts more accessible, the FCG often organizes free pre-concert lectures. These lectures offer background information about the music and the performers, enriching the concert-going experience (Gulbenkian 2022a; 2023c).

The situation diverges when considering the OML, the primary competitor of the FCG orchestra. While the FCG audience can be categorized into specific age groups, a similar categorization for the OML audience proves challenging due to its remarkable heterogeneity, extending beyond age distinctions. The audience of the OML is notably youthful, a result of the orchestra's strategic commitment to promoting classical music not only among connoisseurs but also among young music lovers and those newly exploring classical music. This reflects the institution's mission "to establish privileged partnerships with the most varied interlocutors, to diversify civic intervention and to meet the public wherever it is" (Metropolitana 2023b, p. 174, translated by the author). In harmony with the goal of going where the public is and considering the orchestra's unique condition of lacking a dedicated performance space, its auditorium can be described as the city of Lisbon. This emphasizes the orchestra's intimate connection with the city and its people, identifying "the umbilical relationship that the project has maintained from the outset […] with all those who enjoy it, whether regularly or on sporadic occasions" (ibid., p. 175, translated by the author).

In this context, the OML plays an important role in fulfilling the significant educational task of introducing diverse segments of the population to classical music. The orchestra's audience presents a broad spectrum, reflecting a more democratic and open approach. Attendees to OML concerts include individuals from the middle class, employees engaged in intellectual professions, university students and educators, casual listeners, as well as those affiliated with the orchestra through its training centers, such as the ANSO and others. This inclusive

composition of the audience underscores the orchestra's commitment to breaking down barriers and making classical music accessible to a wide group of individuals with varying backgrounds and interests (Metropolitana 2023a).

A comparable diversity in audiences is observed at alternative venues where the OML performs, such as museums and churches. This characteristic is partly attributed to the frequent practice of offering free concerts, promoting accessibility by eliminating ticket fees. Moreover, the pricing structure for OML paid concerts is notably more affordable than that of FCG concerts, and crucially, these tickets are typically available for purchase directly on the day of the orchestra's performance. In the case of the FCG, the scenario contrasts significantly. Despite ticket prices that may be perceived as relatively high in Portugal, they are often sold out well in advance. This is particularly evident when the FCG initiates the sale of tickets for the upcoming season – failure to secure a ticket for a favorite artist in advance makes gaining entry to the concert hall nearly impossible. This phenomenon is not only a result of the opportunities for the FCG audience to purchase season tickets or individual concert tickets. Instead, it reflects a well-established tradition of scheduled visits to the FCG, emphasizing the deeply ingrained practice of planning attendance well in advance. This marks a significant shift from the recent past when it was still possible to purchase tickets just several days before an event, however, since the post-pandemic period, this has become difficult.

It is crucial to highlight the varying approaches to organizing concert attendance for the public of the FCG orchestra and the OML. The FCG audience, including individuals from the political and business elite, for whom classical music is a stable component of a longstanding leisure pursuit and a familial tradition rooted in historical class distinctions, possesses greater "mobilization resources" (Crossley 2015) for attending concerts. Beyond the financial considerations, the FCG attendees have more reserves of time and energy to dedicate to concert attendance, as mentioned in the interview:

> There are performers that I follow all the time, and there are specific pieces that I adore and make sure to attend when they are performed. I buy season tickets for the Gulbenkian [orchestra] and often buy multiple tickets, which leads to me attending several concerts per week, totaling about six or seven per month (70-80 y.o. male / IDI April 2022).

This resource refers to the social standing of the audience members and their use of free time (they are no longer in the workforce), enabling them to engage with music more frequently compared to the OML audience. In the instance of the FCG audience, there is a noticeable

routine practice of attendance, a pattern not as prevalent with the OML audience. The latter group is characterized as less "spoiled," often showing a more relaxed and less demanding behavior. This observation speaks less to their musical preferences and more to the accessibility of musical events open to them. One of the orchestra's concert attendees complains: "[…] attending concerts allows me to immerse myself in the magic of live performances, and while I would like to go to concerts more often, factors like time and cost can be limiting" (20-30 y.o. male / RPS CCB March 2022).

A distinctly different audience dynamic is seen at festival concerts such as *Música em São Roque*. Since its inception in 1988, this festival has evolved into a prominent platform for classical music ensembles (Santa Casa 2023). The festival's program, known as *Temporada Música em São Roque*, showcases various classical music compositions, including choral pieces, chamber works, and orchestral scores. Notably, the TMSR places a significant emphasis on Portuguese Baroque music (São Roque 2023). The audience for such concerts typically falls into two categories: occasional visitors and regular attendees. These categories are noticeable through specific behaviors. Regular attendees often arrive well in advance, opt for seats closer to the performers, and follow the performance numbers carefully from printed programs. In contrast, casual attendees may focus more on the interior decoration of *Igreja de São Roque*, using smartphones to capture moments of the concert and share them on social networks.

In the broader context, the classical concert audience in Lisbon is attached to a discernible pattern: the fewer mobilization resources it deploys, the more diverse and heterogeneous the audience becomes. Conversely, when an audience possesses more mobilization resources, it tends to present greater segmentation. These segments are readily identifiable, as penetration from external influences is more conspicuous in such monolithic structures as classical concerts. The FCG audience can be compared to such a monolith, consisting of concertgoers with deep personal listening histories who prioritize attendance at significant performances. They form cohesive micro-groups reflective of their social positions and demonstrate a high level of immersion in the concert environment, shaped by years of experience – a resemblance to the audience of *Teatro Nacional de São Carlos*.

Contrastingly, the OML audience is not monolithic but rather vibrant and continually evolving, aligning their resources with specific events. Notably, the personal backgrounds of this audience differ from those attending concerts multiple times a week and can travel to concerts outside Europe. This observation underscores the intricate interplay between resource

mobilization, audience diversity, and the distinctive characteristics of classical music attendees in Lisbon.

4.1.2. Personal background: Shaping the listening experience

The personal background of the audience can be analyzed in terms of the theory of cultural capital, formulated by Pierre Bourdieu. In his already mentioned work *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu introduces cultural capital as a form of symbolic wealth possessed by individuals, which they utilize to secure social advantages. Cultural capital includes a set of elements, such as knowledge, skills, education, tastes, preferences, and familiarity with cultural practices. According to Bourdieu, the possession and exhibition of cultural capital can lead to social recognition, elevated status, and access to valuable resources. This theory explains how cultural capital can be used as a source of influence, particularly in domains such as education, the arts, and cultural institutions.

The extent to which listening practices relate to cultural capital is illustrated through ethnographic material gathered from members of the classical concert audience in Lisbon. Listening habits frequently demonstrate correlations with the social background of individual concertgoers, including their educational levels and that of their parents. Evidently, the tradition of engaging with music, cultivated within the family, is handed down from one generation to the next. An interviewee captures this phenomenon, describing it as follows:

> I am neither a professional nor an amateur musician, but my family has a deep connection to music. My great-grandfather, although not a professional musician, played various string instruments and participated in *Academia dos Amadores de Música*, where he advocated for the well-being of street and unemployed musicians. Musical training was common in my family. […] My grandfather liked Mahler, and I had the privilege of accompanying him to the Gulbenkian [Foundation] to listen to Mahler's symphonies. While my parents appreciate classical music, they prefer works from Mozart to the late 19th century (20-30 y.o. male / IDI January 2022).

It is noteworthy that in this commentary, the interviewee mentions not being a professional musician. Current research suggests that the role of classical music as a form of capital may be more pronounced among those who engage with it as sophisticated amateurs, particularly through participation in prestigious institutions (Sullivan 2001). The reference to the

institutional nature of music as cultural capital is intentional. The interviewer specifically notes attending a concert at the FCG, emphasizing the significance attached to the event within the broader context of the institution's reputation. This connection underscores how engagement with classical music can still be influenced by the cultural capital associated with prestigious institutions and the cultivation of a refined appreciation for the art form.

As anticipated, a parallel narrative of a strong family tradition of music appreciation emerges from a participant with extensive experience attending FCG concerts. The individual's long-standing commitment to attending concerts weekly from a young age highlights the formation of a symbolic value linked to classical music (Bull and Scharff 2017). In this case, the acquisition of cultural capital was significantly facilitated by the family:

> I started attending concerts at a very young age, going to the Tivoli theatre with my parents. I have fond memories of those times when we went every Sunday. Although my mother had no musical training, my father had a passion for music and even had a talent as a singer. We listened to a lot of music at home (60-70 y.o. female / IDI April 2022).

The value of classical music may often seem imperceptible, especially to those who inherently possess this value (Skeggs 2003). This lack of awareness arises from the fact that they have not had to exert significant efforts to acquire this value:

> My life lacks a sense of organization, and I have never held a job. Time is a vague concept to me. Music entered my life effortlessly and gave me solace. [...] It is a source of great joy and inspiration. It is a passion that has been passed down from generation to generation in my family, and I continue to appreciate and explore it through concerts and performances, both at home and abroad (60-70 y.o. female / IDI April 2022).

Interestingly, the cultivation of the symbolic value of classical music in society can serve as a means for personal cultural capital formation that is not exclusively tied to one's social background or parental education. This challenges traditional cultural capital theory, expanding the discourse beyond predetermined social parameters. Often, the encouragement to engage with a product associated with a more exclusive "field," as per Bourdieu's notion, comes from a middle-class desire to prioritize children's education more than in previous generations. This involvement helps children in defining and refining their "production of self" (DeNora 2006). The opportunities provided to children enable them to develop the necessary skills and knowledge that will shape an identity recognized within the listening community. This is exemplified by the experience of a regular concert attendee at the FCG:

> As a young girl, I expressed my desire to become an opera singer, although at the time I had very limited knowledge of the profession. I often gave small concerts for my family, either singing or dancing, and my mother enrolled me in a music school for children. At first, I studied piano for six years, but eventually I left school and started playing classical guitar instead (30-40 y.o. female / LSI June 2022).

Among concertgoers who lacked privileged access to the concert environment but earned their place through the development of their musical skills, a diverse array of narratives related to musical education emerges. This transformative process often turns them into "professional listeners" rather than professional musicians:

> My son plays the violin, and I sometimes accompany him during practice. I used to take piano lessons with a private teacher, but then I took a break. However, at the age of 45, I decided to resume piano lessons. Our neighbor from upstairs used to be a violinist in the Gulbenkian [orchestra], and he served as an inspiration for my son (40-50 y.o. female / RPS FCG March 2023).

As the previous commentary illustrates, the circle of acquaintances, often more casual than determined by social status, plays a significant role in the process of inclusion in the world of classical music and the development of one's listening techniques. In this context, one's inner aesthetic needs can find expression through those already part of the listening community who can share their experiences. These individuals may be friends or colleagues whose musical tastes have resulted in an interest in classical music. This is exemplified by a young person who was introduced to music through his social circle:

> I follow classical music institutions such as the Metropolitana [orchestra], the Gulbenkian [Foundation], and the São Carlos [Opera House]. My interest in music started during my school years when I had friends who played musical instruments. They introduced me to the world of concerts, and I have continued to attend them regularly, usually once every three months (18-25 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

All listeners at concerts in Lisbon manifest some form of connection to classical music. Whether through inherited cultural capital or the cultivation of their habits, encountering casual attendees in concert halls who have had no prior exposure to classical music is exceedingly rare. This connection significantly influences the choice of venue and performers, playing a key role in shaping the class identities associated with musical taste. Even individuals with diverse backgrounds become part of a relatively closed and socially labeled type of cultural practice.

4.1.3. Musical tastes of the public and concertgoers' identities

According to Bourdieu, musical taste stands out as the most precise indicator of social class, as he contends, "[…] nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class,' nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music" (1984, p. 18). Bourdieu connects musical taste to the social background of an individual, considering it an unquestionable aspect. He asserts that musical taste plays an essential role in constructing social hierarchy and distinctions between social classes. Moreover, Bourdieu argues that music, like any taste, is not directly tied to specific locations, relationships, or communications that develop over time. Instead, different places contribute to their distinctions, but these, he notes, are ultimately replaced by common structures such as class.

The insight into musical taste as a clear indicator of social class faces challenges, primarily due to its evolving nature, the rise of musical omnivorousness. In contemporary societies, higher-class consumers are increasingly open to a wide variety of cultural goods, including diverse musical styles (Peterson and Kern 1996). It is important to acknowledge that musical tastes are open and fluid, and people often appreciate a broad range of musical genres. Musical experiences are deeply personal and can vary widely among individuals, making them difficult to capture solely through the lens of social class or other demographic factors and the impact of digital technologies altering music consumption and appreciation habits. However, it remains undeniable that musical taste continues to explain the social structure of the concert audience in Lisbon. Despite the complexities introduced by contemporary trends in listening to music, understanding musical preferences remains a valuable aspect of exploring social distinctions within the audience.

Undoubtedly, music plays an important role in the construction of social identities. While it may not always serve as a direct classifier of social class, it "marks out important differences in how we stake a claim for ourselves as belonging to particular social groups and taste cultures" (Prior 2013, p. 191). In Lisbon concert halls, one can still encounter listeners who show a discerning taste, rejecting the existence of any other form of music, as shown by the following comment:

> Like most people, I have a basic understanding of music that I got at school. However, I prefer classical music to any other genre and only listen to it. When I was a student, I used to go to the Gulbenkian [Foundation] and *Palácio Foz* every week, as this was affordable for me at the time (20-30 y.o. male / LSI October 2022).

In this scenario, the consistent attendance at concerts in prestigious venues and the steadfast commitment to the musical taste associated with the elite demonstrate the correlation between social stratification and taste preferences. The strict devotion to a particular musical genre linked to elite practices becomes a determining factor in the subjective social status of the music listener. It is evident that in this context, cultural capital functions not solely as a means of access to a dominant class and a method of reproducing it, but rather as an indicator or attribute of that class. This indicator operates not only as a marker distinguishing mass and elitist culture but also underscores a constant in the structure of the concert audience characterized by a strict taste. One interviewee preferers to characterize it as a more "refined" taste that had been cultivated over time:

> Over time, my musical taste has become more refined. I particularly appreciate composers such as Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Mahler, and Wagner (although I appreciate Wagner more intellectually than emotionally). As for opera, Puccini and Richard Strauss hold a special place in my heart (60-70 y.o. female / IDI April 2022).

The group of composers mentioned above, which concertgoers tend to favor, delineates a relatively standard repertoire frequently featured in FCG programs, for instance. There, classical concerts extend beyond this set of composers, yet inclination to what might be considered a "typical" or "accepted" repertoire by the elite proves the rejection of other types of works, such as contemporary music, which are equally integral to the broader conceptual understanding of classical music. Listening to contemporary classical music by those with more refined tastes is often accompanied by a form of condescension or even a non-serious attitude. One interviewee shares the experience of listening to contemporary music at the FCG:

> Once I attended with my grandfather an electronic classical music concert at the Gulbenkian [Foundation], which featured a DJ board. Curiously, I asked him about it, and he simply replied, 'contemporary music,' without any attitude (20-30 y.o. male / IDI January 2022).

A distinct category of regular concertgoers, often found outside the FCG, is the omnivorous listener. Contrary to Bourdieu's suggestion that classical concertgoers are less eclectic in their tastes, some individuals in this category display far more diverse musical preferences. This challenges the fundamental connection Bourdieu draws between taste and class. Contemporary trends suggest a shift from the exclusionary snob to the inclusive omnivore, aligning with a

broader historical trend towards greater tolerance for individuals with different tastes (Peterson and Kern 1996).

Omnivorousness as a phenomenon in music consumption may be primarily observed within classical music, encompassing anything institutionalized under the label of classical. This case can be seen as a response to the snobbish claims of the privileged class, who has the means to attend concerts regularly and may not be particularly discerning about the specific program or performer. Indeed, interviews with audiences at the OML concerts highlight broader tastes within the classical music realm:

> I attend various concerts, and it is hard for anyone not to like composers such as Mozart or Beethoven, as well as other prominent figures in classical music. Personally, I prefer Baroque music, some 20th-century compositions, including works by Arvo Pärt, and even 21st century works like those by Philip Glass (40-50 y.o. male / IDI June 2022).

Furthermore, classical music becomes integrated into a wider range of musical interests, contending with other genres that may be quite dissimilar. As a result, public listening to classical music serves as a meeting ground for individuals with entirely unpredictable music tastes:

> In my younger years, I listened more to rock, and later I became interested in jazz. Classical music became part of my life because I was fascinated by the exceptional training and skill of classical musicians. It's like having a favorite dish that you could eat every day, but I prefer to explore different musical genres and try different cuisines (40-50 y.o. male / IDI February 2022).

The culinary metaphor used by the interviewer not only illustrates the diversity of musical tastes as a fundamental need but also reflects the less evident distinction of class boundaries in the contemporary concert hall context. The way in which different people combine their efforts and resources, and tweak their musical tastes, to form a network of like-minded people, highlights a moment of shared cooperation within the community (Crossley 2015). Interest and openness to new types of music may serve as strategies for elites seeking greater diversity in their cultural "menu." This underscores the dynamic nature of cultural capital, with its forms evolving, and its class attribution changing over time.

Even broader musical tastes can be observed at concerts held in churches, often offered free of charge. This is frequently because the audience at these concerts, unless classical music

enthusiasts, may not have a direct affiliation with the classical music realm, as one need not be a film enthusiast to attend a movie, the presence at these free concerts spans a diverse array of audiences. However, for many attendees, it remains a form of leisure without additional symbolic meanings. Consequently, the broad musical tastes indicated by attendees at such concerts highlight a notable trend. The lower the level of the concert (where obtaining tickets may be challenging, even for free events), the more diverse the musical tastes demonstrated by its attendees.

In conclusion, the class-based features of classical music are validated when a strict musical taste finds its sustenance in the repertoire of specific cultural institutions, such as the FCG. Unlike the FCG, the OML does not always present canonical works to its audience. The OML distinguishes itself through a strong dedication to Portuguese music, actively commissioning and premiering numerous works by contemporary Portuguese composers. This approach serves to diversify its audience. The orchestra achieves this by engaging with works that may not always be part of the classical canon, and consequently, not always intended to cultivate the class-orientated identities of its listeners.

4.2. Music Preferences and Motives for Attendance

Having explored the connections between musical taste and class identities among concertgoers in Lisbon, it is crucial to delve into the mechanisms through which these relations are actualized. This involves examining how taste is expressed in repertoire preferences, understanding the reasons that lead concertgoers to attend, and recognizing how prior experiences shape their preferences. The motivations of audience members present various factors, ranging from musical choice (such as repertoire, familiarity, and preference) to practical considerations like ticket price, access, and availability. Beyond these, broader issues also play a role. Notably, the increasing experience of concert-going appears to guide listeners along a trajectory where "their investment in the musical aspects of the event and their enjoyment of the social elements of attendance gradually outweigh the practical concerns" (Pitts 2014, p. 32). Motivations, in their multifaceted nature, are perceived as potential trajectories for listeners' experiences.

4.2.1. Musical choices: Repertoire and performer favorites

When selecting concerts, the audience relies on their musical taste. This is realized through a preference for already familiar classical music works that constitute the foundation of any concert repertoire. Additionally, concertgoers often choose performers who are familiar from previous concerts or recordings. The consideration of ticket price also emerges as a significant factor in the decision-making process. These priorities are emphasized in the responses of most of the respondents that when choosing concerts to attend, they look first and foremost "at specific works, performers, and ticket prices" (30-40 y.o. male / IDI December 2021).

During the 19th century, a significant shift occurred in the perception of musical performance, reorienting it away from a primarily functional context, such as entertainment, towards an appreciation of music as the creation of "works." This marked a profound change in the mindset of musicians, altering their expectations and ideals about the essence of their art. By the end of the 19th century, the classical concert had solidified into an institution, featuring a repertoire of works by the great composers of the time and a set of conventions around performance practice. This evolution marked the birth of what is recognized as the modern classical concert experience, a tradition that has been preserved and continues to be celebrated in many parts of the world (Goehr 1992).

Most members of the concert hall audience, whether at the FCG or the democratic CCB, attach to a model of idolizing great composers and their masterpieces. This model is perhaps the most prevalent among audiences, historically linked to the formation of the classical concert format still observed today. Classical concert audiences attend to listen to established composers who constitute the core of the classical musical tradition. In this regard, their connection to the traditional repertoire of classical concerts not only pleasures of engaging with great music but also involves them in the collective ritual of listening to classical music (Small 1998):

> The enduring quality of classical compositions amazes me. The fact that you can be excited by pieces written hundreds of years ago is a testament to their longevity. While many modern compositions may fade away, the works of Mozart and Bach will surely last through the centuries (40-50 y.o. male / IDI February 2022).

> During my search, I looked for a concert that would fit our schedule, I ended up choosing this one and buying tickets for myself and my friends. The program played an important

> role in our decision, and Mozart is always a reliable choice (40-50 y.o. male / RPS MO January 2022).

Certain audience members express the importance of incorporating a mix of popular and rare works, including contemporary classical music pieces, in the format of symphony concerts. They describe this as "therapeutically useful," highlighting the need for infrequent shifts from well-known compositions to lesser-known ones that offer a different impact on perception, engagement, and appreciation. These shifts are crucial, particularly for individuals with broad musical tastes. However, it's acknowledged that the inclusion of little-known contemporary repertoire may be met with skepticism from more conservative audiences, as observed at the FCG:

> Symphony concerts sometimes mix classical and contemporary repertoire, which is not always interesting to the audience. However, I enjoy this combination and find it therapeutically useful, as I have eclectic musical tastes. I enjoy Baroque music, especially Bach, but I am also pleased that Mahler's works are being actively performed this season (30-40 y.o. female / RPS FCG April 2023).

When analyzing the prioritization of performers in the selection of a concert, it becomes evident that, in this scenario, the program of the performance itself plays a relatively unimportant role. However, the interviewee discussing these preferences acknowledges that such a habit could be considered superficial. For him, and many concertgoers, this approach contradicts the idea of a piece-centered aesthetic that forms the foundation of concert life (Wald-Fuhrmann et al. 2021):

> While I don't prioritize the repertoire, I must admit that I prioritize the name of the pianist, which may seem superficial. Naturally, I gravitate towards piano music, but the repertoire itself plays a lesser role in my choices. For example, I once bought a ticket for [the concert of Grigory] Sokolov without knowing what he would be playing, so repertoire is not the deciding factor for me (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, performers often embody the repertoire traditionally associated with them. Touring star pianists, for instance, prepare programs that allow them to showcase their abilities to the fullest. Therefore, when a listener chooses a concert based solely on the name of the performer, they involuntarily choose a repertoire that seems inherently linked to that artist. In the case of Grigory Sokolov, for example, this would be a traditional

classical program available in existing recordings, including online. Consequently, the repertoire does not emerge as a key factor, given its association with the performer's name.

4.2.2. Practical reasons for attending classical concerts

The decisive factors for purchasing a ticket and attending a specific concert reflect the preferences discussed earlier. Price considerations, of course, play a significant role. Generally, the FCG offers affordable prices, with discounts available for individuals under 25 and over 65. However, a key issue with such concerts is ticket availability.

Figure 1. Queueing up for tickets outside to attend a free concert at the FCG (photograph by the author).

Season tickets are often bought in advance, essentially taking a majority of the seats. The remaining tickets are purchased early by those who regularly attend concerts and closely follow the schedule. For them, the priority is securing a ticket, and they adjust their schedules accordingly to attend the concert. Individuals who cannot plan visits far in advance, as their time is strictly regulated, face challenges attending FCG concerts through this approach. The issue of access also extends to free concerts, such as festivals at the FCG. Tickets for these events are distributed rapidly, with queues forming hours before the ticket office opens. To

address this, the FCG offers viewers a free loyalty card, allowing them to make online bookings and avoid waiting in line.

The OML, with its diverse concerts at venues like the CCB, museums, universities, churches, and outdoor spaces, provides an alternative option. Ticket prices for these concerts are lower, and they are typically available for purchase almost up until the event begins. This accessibility makes it possible for people to attend concerts that are within their budget and personal schedules. In this regard, the OML plays a significantly influential role in shaping the tastes and habits of a broad audience of music enthusiasts. The CCB achieves this by offering diverse programs and maintaining affordable ticket prices, which undoubtedly attracts a more extensive and diverse audience:

> Usually, I attend concerts at the CCB that feature opera, symphonic music, and even jazz performances. My choice of concerts depends on different factors. I like music from different periods, ranging from antique to modern. Ticket prices also play a role in my decision-making process (40-50 y.o. female / RPS IMD October 2022).

As mentioned earlier, it is uncommon for a less experienced listener, unfamiliar with the intricacies of ticketing, to secure seats at the FCG. Conversely, the OML not only provides reasonable prices, often a decisive factor but also actively spreads information about concerts around the city in their advertising banners, including through social networks. This approach increases accessibility and awareness, making it easier for a broader audience to attend OML concerts, as shown in the comment of an OML concert attendee:

> I decided to attend this concert for several reasons. Firstly, the tickets were very affordable, and I appreciate the opportunity to hear quality classical music at a reasonable price. In addition, I am fond of classical music, which motivated me to attend. I try to attend concerts regularly, usually twice per month. I stay updated on the concert schedule by following the Metropolitana [orchestra] on Facebook (50-60 y.o. female / RPS CCB June 2023).

The accessibility of concerts, coupled with active advertising (including street announcements), often leads to the presence of individuals in the hall who are not regular classical music listeners. They may attend a concert by chance, driven by curiosity. This creates a distinctive form of social interaction within the audience, characterized not by skilled listeners but rather by curious onlookers who may be less familiar with the rituals of concert performances:

> While walking down the street, I came across an announcement and learned that there was a series of concerts taking place at a museum nearby. Once I was in the neighborhood, I spontaneously decided to attend one of the concerts. I don't have an extensive knowledge of music history or theory. My understanding is limited to the chronological order of composers, for example, Haydn precedes Mozart and Mozart precedes Beethoven (40-50 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

One motivation for attending classical music concerts is the desire to hear music that is not readily available in a recorded format. This inclination is particularly notable in the context of ancient or Baroque music, rather than contemporary compositions. Focusing on Baroque performances, the respondent attends concerts at least six times a year, but "unfortunately, there aren't many venues that are specifically dedicated to Baroque music" (50-60 female / RPS FCG June 2023).

Classical venues seldom feature this kind of repertoire outside of special festivals. Moreover, there are relatively few spaces that offer such a repertoire. Even traditional chamber music, performed by chamber ensembles rather than orchestral soloists, is infrequently heard, except during special festivals like the festival *Quartetos de Cordas* (String Quartets) at the FCG. The desire for exposure to rare repertoire partially drives audiences to attend concerts in churches, where Baroque or Early music ensembles often perform.

4.2.3. Extramusical motives for concert attendance

There are certain risks associated with being an audience member: a performance might not live up to a favorite recording, the concert hall's acoustics might be weak, and the seat might be uncomfortable or hindered by fellow attendees. Considering that these risks can be avoided by listening to a well-regarded recording, "the appeal of live listening must provide additional benefits that are sought out by audiences across a range of venues and genres" (Pitts 2014, p. 28). One such benefit is the opportunity for a person to realize one's extramusical demands, reflecting the intertwining of their life with specific works or performers. For many attendees, purchasing a ticket to a classical concert is seen as a chance for a form of healing. While this could, in some cases, allude to the treatment of various illnesses or traumas. This experience is rooted in personal stories, involving the engagement with one's memories and self-reflection.

Medical-based music therapy provides a notable example wherein music serves as a medium for "bio-feedback." Through this approach, individuals can modulate physiological and emotional states, as well as bodily awareness by aligning with specific musical attributes. In this context, music can modify parameters of embodied experience, such as regulating pulse or breathing rates and even diminishing the perception of pain: "One's pulse 'becomes' – is modified in relation to – that of the music; one's pain 'replaced' by the state of music" (DeNora 2004, p. 161). Therefore, recipients of music effectively serve as conduits through which music is filtered. This interpretation underscores the concept of music's ability to mediate and inform.

Certainly, this motivation for attending concerts may appear vague, but individuals select specific works if they believe they can have an aesthetic experience in the quantities and forms they seek. The structure of this experience is dynamic, evolving as a person's life and preferences change over time. However, the fundamental reason for attending a concert remains constant: to engage with oneself and one's inner world through music. This sentiment is echoed in the description provided by one of the longtime attendees of classical concerts in Lisbon:

> As I've gotten older, I've become more selective in my choices and gravitate towards well-known artists. Although I love opera, my approach to music is more about evoking feelings and memories rather than following specific works. When I attend concerts, it is like a therapeutic experience that evokes emotions and memories in me. It is not tied to specific musical compositions (60-70 y.o. female / IDI April 2022).

One of the most significant reasons why people attend concert halls to listen to music, particularly classical concerts, is the appeal of live performances and the unique characteristics of live sound. "The audience's live experience is a critical driver of the value and quality of the musical performance" (Radbourne et la. 2014, p. 67). The live materiality of musical sounds and the opportunity to be immersed in sonic worlds are integral aspects of the experience that concert halls offer during classical concerts. Fully grasping a piece of music is practically impossible without experiencing it live: no home music system can capture the timbres and nuances of orchestral playing, its pianissimo and fortissimo, not to mention the specific mood of each concert, which serves as a living testament to the engagement with a musical event. Many listeners value live concerts precisely because of the vibrant materiality of the acoustic space in the concert hall:

> One aspect that brings me great pleasure is the natural sounds produced by musical instruments. Physical sensations such as vibrations and echoes resonate deeply with me.

> Attending a classical music concert is a significant event in my life, compared to attending a theatre performance. It evokes an emotional response in me (30-40 y.o. female / LSI June 2022).

It is not unusual for listeners to demonstrate a more self-orientated approach when selecting a specific artist. Frequently, they become acquainted with artists online by following their recordings and social media accounts. Attending such a concert becomes a socially significant event, signifying entry into the world of celebrities. Often, listeners seek their seats as close to the stage as possible, as one respondent desired, not only to hear but also to see their icons – a model reminiscent of selling tickets to the fan zone at pop or rock stars' concerts:

> I am familiar with the artist and admire her [Joyce DiDonato]. As soon as I saw her name on the concert schedule, I decided to buy a ticket. I was attracted to her exceptional interpretation of Baroque music, which I appreciate very much. When it came to choosing a seat, I had to settle for what was available, although I would have preferred a closer position (50-60 y.o. female / RPS FCG June 2023).

The same approach is employed by amateur musicians. Visitors to concert halls who engage in music at a non-professional level approach the selection of concert programs more technically, also favoring performers who are connected to their hobby:

> The main motivation was my experience learning [to play] piano. As an amateur pianist who started playing three years ago, I had a list of recommended pianists from my piano teacher. I was particularly interested in attending piano recitals, and one that interested me was a performance by pianist Mitsuko Uchida that I heard in January (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

The community of music listeners in Lisbon is relatively limited. As mentioned earlier, any visitor to a concert hall typically has a personal connection to the world of music, whether it be a historical, therapeutic, or communal interest. This connection is often realized through having contacts among performers who are important to hear or see on stage, either for their relatives or friends. Ensembles like the OML, for instance, tend to attract audiences composed of appreciative fans of the orchestra's musicians. These fans may include the musicians' teachers, friends, or relatives. For various reasons, this approach proves to be decisive, as individuals from such audiences typically do not attend classical music concerts or do so very infrequently:

> The main reason I decided to attend this concert is that my daughter is performing at it. It's a special opportunity for me to see her playing. I don't usually go to classical music concerts, but if I do, I prefer venues like the CCB (50-60 y.o. male / RPS CCB April 2023).

The reasons for attending specific concerts are typically a combination of various factors that come together with the preferences of individual listeners. These considerations, in turn, reflect their social identity, influencing their taste and habits. While there are exceptions to this pattern, as demonstrated earlier, sociality can be characterized not only as a precondition for listening but also as a feature of the act of listening itself. Each audience forms a unique, momentary social organism in which, alongside immediate and distinctive features, there are aspects common to any community of classical concert listeners united by obtaining certain listening techniques.

Finally, one notable motivation for attending concerts is the acquisition of specific skills, as expressed by one respondent. These skills cover not only the ability to listen effectively but also pertain to behavior, socialization, and adaptation to the concert environment, which is "a prominent feature for concert attendees possessing varying levels of experience and knowledge of classical music" (Dobson and Pitts 2011, p. 371). Consequently, attending public concerts serves the purpose of cultivating practices that facilitate the enjoyment of live music:

> The reasons why I started listening to classical music are mainly to have a cultural experience, to appreciate and understand it, and to contribute to the world of culture. In addition, I enjoy music and find pleasure in listening and seeing it. Through this process, I also learn applicable skills (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Motivations for attending concerts are likely to intersect, influenced by prior attendance and musical engagement, the social decisions made by visitors, whether they attend alone or with friends, and the value they ascribe to live music in comparison to other financial and practical aspects of daily life. Everyone will make a personal decision to attend a concert, integrating this experience "into their everyday consumption of music and other arts, and relating their experience to other social and musical dimensions of their lives" (Pitts 2014, p. 22).

4.3. Social Modes of Listening to Music at Classical Concerts

A live performance provides an opportunity for fostering a sense of community as "live events can be totally immersive, have emotional significance and offer a sense of belonging, identity and community" (Burland and Pitts 2014, p. 127). The socially engaged approaches to music listening within a concert setting can be classified into three distinct categories based on their respective goals. Initially, there is the aspect of adapting to the concert environment in a social context. Subsequently, interactions among audience members are explored to establish social connections of varying intensities. Finally, methods are considered that invest in the development of a unique collective listening experience. This often serves as a noteworthy incentive for attending music concerts, as indicated above.

4.3.1. Fitting into the concert audience: The problem of elitism

To "fit" into the concert audience implies following the expectations and guidelines that define collective behavior within the concert space. Public spaces establish specific norms and conditions for their visitors to ensure that their activities are regulated by a structured order that is dictated by various factors. It is argued that – much like in any other musical event – there exists an "underlying kinship between the members of the audience" (Small 1998, p. 42) within the concert hall. In this context, individuals feel a sense of comfort with each other, understanding the anticipated behaviors and norms while attending the event. Consequently, conforming to the audience involves aligning one's actions with those of fellow concertgoers.

The emphasis in this context does not revolve around the regulations governing behavior inside the concert hall or the adherence to a specific regime of silence. It delves into the social framework, aiming to comprehend how individuals adjust to the social significance inherent in a public classical music concert. While investigating the dynamics of adapting to a specific concert sociality, valuable insights can be provided regarding its broader societal implications.

Concert attendees agree that the FCG serves as a comparatively secure environment for upholding proper behavior. This includes considerations such as attire, pre-listening rituals, interactions with fellow audience members, and the observance of ceremonial activities like purchasing a program, finding one's seat, and visiting the buffet. The absence of such features

in other concert halls, as highlighted in the research findings, was notable. An individual who regularly attends concerts conveys that

> [...] at the Gulbenkian [Foundation] concert etiquette is well understood by the audience. I think this is because the audience consists mainly of the elite who are already familiar with expectations. In other contexts, I think it would be useful to have someone advising on concert etiquette, as not everyone may be aware of appropriate behavior. Nevertheless, in general, the atmosphere and behavior at the Gulbenkian [Foundation] is quite acceptable (30-40 y.o. male / IDI December 2021).

An essential consideration lies in the observation regarding the perceived elitist nature of the concert audience, which serves as a representative illustration of listening behavior. Intriguingly, elitism in this context is not determined by exclusive access to tickets or regular attendance at the FCG through season tickets. Rather, it denotes a unique social dynamic centered on the advocacy and propagation of behavioral norms, where financial considerations take a secondary role. The emphasis is not placed on financial resources or social standing. Instead, it revolves around upholding established behaviors associated with the appreciation of high-quality music.

> Classical music concerts are not very expensive, but there is still a sense of elitism associated with them. The barriers preventing young people from accessing classical music are mostly not financial, but more subtle, such as stereotypes and preconceived notions of what classical music represents. If the audience consists mainly of aristocrats and older individuals, and young people have little incentive to attend concerts, it becomes difficult for the younger generation to identify with the audience or with preconceived notions of classical music (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

For certain listeners, conforming to the nuances of this "subtle elitism" through following certain concert rules might be perceived as undesirable, potentially hindering them from fully enjoying the concert. This situation can contribute to newcomers feeling like outsiders when compared to more seasoned attendees. The behavior of more experienced audience members can consequently result in newcomers feeling "less confident and comfortable" (Dearn and Price 2016, p. 11).

The question arises: what is the purpose of adapting to concert rules if it has limited influence on who engages in music listening? Despite this, fitting to overarching requirements, even if at times perceived as excessive, seems important precisely because listening occurs in

public spaces. Instances may arise where even minor infractions, such as tardiness, are viewed as offenses. This underscores the intricate and delicate nature of public listening practices, highlighting the necessity of adhering to established norms and etiquette within the concert space.

Simplified modes of behavior designed for more democratic audiences are evident in nearly every concert hall in Lisbon. However, questions may arise about whether institutions like the FCG are genuinely fostering the democratization of their audiences. In its promotional materials, the FCG has introduced *Concertos de Domingo* (Sunday Concerts) series, featuring orchestra performances designed to provide a more casual and relaxed music-listening experience, accompanied by the enthusiasm and excitement of children. These concerts aim to satisfy a diverse audience, incorporating both familiar pieces from the classical canon and more eclectic programs. This approach is part of a broader strategy to make classical music more approachable and enjoyable for a wide range of listeners, including children (Gulbenkian 2022b). While these initiatives can be seen as efforts to attract a broader audience and create a more accessible musical experience, they also exemplify the challenges of balancing diverse audience needs and expectations within the same concert space.

In contemporary concert culture, audiences find themselves navigating and adopting the implicit expectations of their fellow concertgoers. Nowadays attendees are expected to understand distinctions between daytime and evening concerts, serious and popular programs, as well as performances by international stars and those by lesser-known artists. While societal pressures may play a role, the primary motivation lies in the significance attached to the concert experience itself. The inclination to present oneself with dignity in the presence of the performer, even if the performer does not directly perceive individual audience members, serves as a valid reason for choosing more formal attire. This practice reflects a collective aspiration to express reverence and appreciation for the musical performance, contributing to a prevailing atmosphere of respect in the concert environment.

> The atmosphere during daytime or matinee events is usually more relaxed, but evening concerts are more formal. Although I don't follow strict concert etiquette, I do appreciate the historical significance of certain traditions and try not to stand out. On special occasions, especially knowing the status of the performer, I try to dress in a special way (50-60 y.o. female / IDI October 2022).

The concert hall serves as a compelling example, provoking to reevaluate not only the notion of audience elitism but also the importance of established behavioral norms in shaping a unique form of social interaction. These norms are designed to foster a unified and cohesive audience, operating as a collective entity in which conditions for meaningful listening experiences can be cultivated. Although certain expressions of elitism may appear inconsequential, it is the commitment to these culturally intricate norms that underscores the public and communal nature of listening practices.

4.3.2. Social interaction of the public: The effect of networking

The process of adapting to the concert space means not only the internalization of fundamental requirements and behavioral rules essential for the successful execution of the collective experience but also familiarization with the public environment. Through this adaptation, each listener becomes formally integrated into the social dynamics existing within the concert audience. Relying on shared norms and expectations, audience members actively engage in the collective task of harmonizing their behavior, fostering a sense of cohesion and unity among the audience. This formal integration into the concert atmosphere strengthens social relationships within the audience, contributing to a shared listening experience for all participants, as "the socializing is an important part of the event. But […] that takes place in the foyer, before and in the interval of the concert, not in the auditorium" (Small 1998, p. 42).

Attending a concert includes various social rituals, spanning from the initial choice of a specific event to considerations of companionship. These rituals play a significant role in shaping social interactions among concertgoers, transforming the act of attending a concert into a form of socializing where the essence of the musical event may sometimes become secondary. This aspect is critically examined by one of the interviewees, who believes that "some people attend classical concerts as a social activity or to have a reason to go out. Sometimes it feels like a facade of culture rather than a genuine appreciation of the music itself" (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

The selection of a specific concert not only mirrors individual interests and preferences but also brings together individuals with a shared appreciation for the music or artist, strengthening a sense of belonging within the audience. Additionally, coordinating attendance with friends or acquaintances and the experience of participating together serve as unifying events, improving

social bonds among participants. Furthermore, relevance to dress code and concert etiquette contributes to reinforcing the collective identity of the audience, investing in the sense of community. Consequently, the concert setting offers a predetermined opportunity for people to gather not only to enjoy music but also to engage in meaningful social interaction:

> Music is a passion for me. I enjoy every aspect of attending a concert, including dining out before or after the performance. Thinking about what to wear, whom to invite or to meet at the concert adds to my enjoyment. The social aspect of such events is something I cherish. Fortunately, I have many friends who share my enthusiasm for concerts (20-30 y.o. male / IDI January 2022).

The hesitancy to attend concerts alone can be attributed to a perceived barrier linked to adapting to the concert environment, a barrier that seems more manageable when one is in the company of one's group. Moreover, attending a concert with companions can significantly impact listeners' concert choices. Companions vary not only in terms of time commitments, budgets, and practical factors such as travel time or mobility issues, "they also have different knowledge, tastes and attitudes to risk with regards to programming" (Dearn and Price 2016, p. 6).

The intermission in a concert serves as a significant social phenomenon. Communication during the intermission predominantly occurs within pre-existing micro-groups characterized by long-established relationships and shared interests or projects. This communication extends beyond just friendships and includes interactions within established communities, exemplified by the description of one of the members of the Richard Wagner Circle:

> When I attend concerts at the Gulbenkian [Foundation], I cherish the opportunity to meet people with whom I can share opinions and ideas, mainly from the [Richard] Wagner Circle, an enthusiastic group that organizes special events and provides reserved tickets for its members around the world (70-80 y.o. male / IDI April 2022).

It is noteworthy that interviewees tend to connect with individuals they already know rather than actively seeking to meet new people during the intermission. For many listeners, the intermission serves as an opportunity for self-presentation as listeners, rather than a time for forging new social connections.

The concert setting at FCG concerts reveals a distinct characteristic regarding interaction among listeners: communication within groups flows seamlessly, while engaging with

individuals outside one's group is nearly impossible. An interview participant, with a significant history of attending concerts at the FCG and CCB, voiced understandable frustration with this scenario. The limited opportunities for interaction beyond their group can hinder the expansion of social links and engagement with fellow concertgoers.

> Today, the Gulbenkian [Foundation] has become a real center for music lovers, and it is encouraging to see a diverse audience, including young people. For me, music serves more as a personal connection than as a unifying force between people. I have met many familiar faces at concerts over the past 40 years, but there is a noticeable barrier that prevents people from communicating with each other (60-70 y.o. female / IDI April 2022).

The situation differs at the CCB, particularly during OML concerts. These concerts feature diverse programs for a broad audience, often showcasing graduates from the ANSO under the supervision of the OML. The same can be observed at concerts of the OCP and JOP. As a result, many audience members have personal links to the performers from the mentioned orchestras, often being friends or family members. This close social connection nurtures stronger and more intimate relationships among listeners. It is observed that individuals usually linger after such concerts to convey their congratulations and gratitude to the musicians, particularly if they share personal relationships with the performers. Uniting family ties and common experiences during the performance cultivates a sense of community and contributes to a favorable atmosphere:

> I became interested in classical music when my daughter started violin lessons at the age of six. Since then, I have listened to it much more often. However, it's not only her playing that I listen to. That's why I decided to attend this concert today (50-60 y.o. female / RPS CCB April 2023).

Examining the audience's behavior during the musical event itself is crucial to understanding whether concert audiences genuinely adopt the characteristics of a community solely in the moment of music performance. Understanding the dynamics and social interactions among audience members during a performance can provide insights into the emergence of a sense of community and the role that music plays in fostering a communal bond among attendees.

4.3.3. Listening to classical music as a communal type of experience

The listener's experience of a concert has been acknowledged to be influenced by the presence of other audience members (Pitts 2005). While it may be challenging to view the concert hall audience as a unified form of sociality, the critical aspect lies in the phenomenon of collective listening, where social interaction takes a back seat to communication through music. The communal aspect of the audience experience is a crucial and distinctive feature of arts attendance, but it is more intricate and nuanced than current notions of consumption communities may recognize. Particularly, "it reveals the importance of the temporal, imaginative element of how audiences experience performances (and themselves)" (O'Sullivan 2009, p. 220).

Shared engagement in the musical experience emerges as a significant motivation for individuals attending concerts and enjoying performances. This shared focus on the musical act serves to cultivate a distinctive sense of unity and collective experience among audience members, transcending barriers and prejudices that might otherwise impede social interaction: "In general, my home is not a place where we actively make music together. There is a lack of opportunities to engage in musical collaboration. However, in a concert hall, the atmosphere is completely different" (20-30 y.o. male / LSI June 2023).

The atmosphere within a concert hall during a performance provides a genuinely unique and incomparable experience. Research indicates that the emotions felt while listening to music, especially the intense feelings associated with the music, are influenced by the social context in which the listening occurs (Gabrielsson and Wik 2003). Strong emotions are more likely to be experienced at live concerts when other people are present (Lamont 2011).

It is crucial to differentiate between the collective presence effect felt by each concertgoer and the concept of socialization within the concert space. One respondent discussed his concert habits and the role of socialization in their concert experience, emphasizing a clear distinction between socialization and the enjoyment derived from listening to music. While these factors may be significant and interconnected for this individual, who perceived a fundamental difference between the experience outside the concert hall and the immersive experience during music performance:

> One of the things I enjoy is attending lectures before concerts, where I can learn more about the pieces and musicians. It's also a great chance to meet friends and enjoy the general

> atmosphere. We often go to the bar before the concert and have dinner afterward. I have a small group of friends who also like to go to the Gulbenkian [Foundation], and this season I bought ten tickets. Although I can easily go to concerts alone, I prefer to go with friends because it's a combination of socializing and enjoying the program (40-50 y.o. male / RPS FCG April 2023).

During the concert itself, the communal nature of listening has been demonstrated to impact the concert experience (Dobson 2010b; Gross 2013). It can elevate the performance, generating moments of sublimity, or diminish enjoyment, particularly if other audience members show distraction.

The public experience of listening to music fosters a sense of community among concertgoers. In a dimmed auditorium, where all attention is focused on the performers rather than on each other, listeners become immersed in the music, detached from external distractions, and their subjectivity becomes intertwined with the collective body. At this point, adherence to concert etiquette evolves from a mere representation of sociality into a mechanism of inclusion in the event. The level of engagement in the musical experience is heightened when all the conditions for a continuous encounter with music are met. This generates a profound sense of community, fueled by the power of the music itself. It is not just the protocol or the sense of being in a group of like-minded people that is significant, but all aspects, including the design of the listening space:

> I can focus on the nuances and details of the performance while feeling the presence of other listeners around me. It creates a sense of community when we are together in a space specifically designed for the enjoyment of music. For me, the Gulbenkian [Foundation] is the pinnacle of concert venues in Portugal. It holds a special place in my heart, like a cathedral dedicated to art. The design is elegantly simple, evoking a sense of reverence and making the music come alive. Although I also attend concerts at the CCB, the experience does not evoke the depth of emotion I feel here [at the Gulbenkian Foundation] (30-40 y.o. male / RPS FCG December 2022).

Furthermore, a unique form of community emerges through auditory perception, devoid of verbal communication. This community arises with the commencement of music and dissolves with its conclusion. Each participant contributes to the collective mood and overall listening experience, influencing others to perceive the music in a similar manner, eventually making others hear the way they listen: "We are not a community of listeners listening to one single

object that joins us together […]. We are an infinite addition of singularities that each wants to make itself heard hearing" (Szendy 2008, p. 143).

The assumption that the listening experience at the FCG is more profound than at the CCB raises intriguing considerations. One potential explanation for this disparity could be linked to differences in the publics and the spatial characteristics of the concert hall at the CCB. The degree of audience engagement with the music, along with the ambiance and acoustic features of the concert hall, might play a crucial role in shaping the depth of the listening experience. Moreover, factors like audience behavior and the overall cultural atmosphere could also contribute to distinct perceptions of the listening experience in the two venues, as highlighted by one key informant following attendance at a concert at the CCB:

> I didn't enjoy the atmosphere at the CCB because […] people were commenting during the music and coughing, which prevented me from concentrating. I prefer it when the audience is positive and enthusiastic, but they interfered with me during the performance. Also, I didn't like the building itself because it seemed empty and there was no atmosphere in it (30-40 y.o. female / LSI March 2023).

The CCB audience, particularly those attending OML concerts, seems to form a close-knit community of listeners with established connections and informal relationships. However, their potential for active participation in deeper and more focused collective listening seems limited, as many attendees are relatively new to classical music and often do not put the aesthetic aspects of performance beyond its social significance. This supports the notion of "the importance of social and communal experiences that is not dictated by their level of engagement" (Dearn and Price 2016, p. 15). Nevertheless, these listeners still choose to attend OML concerts because they perceive the social space as a safe environment, which they feel is crucial for enjoying music in public. As well as young listeners who perceive the strict behavioral rules in concert spaces as a hindrance to their engagement with classical concerts, associating elitism with these venues.

However, as demonstrated, this social label does not exclusively explain behavior even within traditional spaces like the FCG. Instead, a crucial aspect is a specific form of social interaction, where adherence to concert rules and established norms contributes to the development of listening techniques involving listener self-identification and cohesive behaviors. This involves cultural elements such as deepening musical knowledge through pre-

concert lectures and bodily aspects such as following dress codes and patterns of listener reactions, like applause in established contexts, as explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Environmental Effects of Listening to Classical Music in Lisbon

5.1. Entering the Classical Concert Venue

Every attendee is consistently bound by the regulations and societal norms governing behavior in public spaces. However, these regulations are frequently not solely determined by social conventions but are significantly influenced by spatial considerations. The influential role of the concert hall in shaping musical experiences, as Small firmly acknowledges, if the music continues to be presented in concert halls to paying audiences, is that "the concert hall will impose its own conditions on whatever they do; there is no escaping it" (1998, p. 24). The music played in these settings is not merely for entertainment or aesthetic pleasure, but serves as a cultural touchstone, a ritualistic verification of shared values, history, and identity. In this light, the concert hall becomes a temple of sorts, where the ritual of performance connects the present to the past, allowing the audience to partake in a collective cultural and historical consciousness.

The concert hall, being the primary setting for the execution and appreciation of listening techniques, is often referred to as a "music world place" (Crossley 2015), meaning that music is shaped by the places where it is made. In addition to the concert hall's acoustic environment, the audience is impacted by the architecture of the music hall itself, the area designated for pre-listening activities and open verbal exchanges – the foyer. Accordance to these spaces is typically manifested in adherence or non-adherence to a prescribed dress code. In this context, the dress code does not merely mirror the social identity of an individual but rather represents an effort to adapt to the transitional space between the street and the hall, paralleling the ritual of entering a new environment.

Ecological theory, as applied to the study of classical concert venues, extends to present the cultural environment by operating on the premise that cultural artifacts and practices are as perceptually definable by auditory elements in music as natural events and objects are by their

respective auditory information. While cultural conventions may be arbitrary in theory, in practice they are as obligatory as the laws of nature, dictating the parameters within which individuals operate and interpret their world (Clarke 2005).

5.1.1. Architectural configurations of concert buildings

Historically, venues dedicated to classical music concerts have been prominent architectural landmarks in urban environments, "marked the (musical) center of cities" (Tröndel 2021, p. 18). Examples include the London Albert Hall in London, inaugurated in 1871, the Great Hall of *Wiener Musikverein*, opened in 1870 to host the Vienna Philharmonic orchestra, *Berliner Philharmonie*, which was built in 1963 to replace the old building which was destroyed by British bombers in 1944. The act of experiencing music within grand structures designed explicitly for classical music concerts traces back to the institution of the first philharmonic societies. As music became an integral part of urban cultural life, concert halls, alongside museums, emerged in cities across Europe and North America, symbolizing the cultural identity of the city itself. The concert halls of the bourgeoisie were different from the palaces of the aristocracy according to their distinct purpose. While palaces served as musical venues out of circumstance, designed primarily to showcase the glory of the patron, music itself was not their central focus. In contrast, "the concert hall was designed for the worship of music" (Cressman 2012, p. 6). The act of listening to music within a venue purposefully constructed for this pursuit remains intertwined with public engagement.

Presently, this tradition continues, exemplified by contemporary concert halls characterized by expansive designs and distinctive architecture, drawing not only music enthusiasts but also a substantial influx of tourists "through the architectural design, which is often developed by star architects, such halls act as eye-catching magnets that visually shape entire cities" (Tröndel 2021, p. 18). A notable illustration is *Elbphilharmonie*, which opened in 2017 and is situated in the HafenCity district of Hamburg (Germany) on the Grasbrook peninsula along the Elbe River. A new glassy structure evokes imagery of a raised sail, undulating water wave, imposing iceberg, or glistening quartz crystal atop an aged brick warehouse. This project stems from a private initiative led by architect and real estate developer Alexander Gérard and his wife Jana Marko, an art historian. They commissioned the original design from the Swiss architecture firm Herzog & de Meuron (Mischke 2016).

This example is just one illustration supporting the argument that contemporary concert halls uphold the tradition of architectural landmarks within urban landscapes, “inviting and directing the viewer’s gaze” (Tröndel 2021, p. 19). Contemporary cultural institutions, including new concert halls, are integrated into the cultural industry, subject to market dynamics and internal competition. These new buildings often reflect a business strategy aimed at commercializing the arts, catering to star performers, and paying audiences through concert programming designed to generate revenue. Concert halls in the 19th century were also oriented towards market dynamics with their focus on attracting paying audiences. Today, the key difference is an increased focus on strategic commercialization: concert halls are more explicitly integrated into the cultural industry and driven by business strategies to maximize revenue and market presence.

The significance of the music halls extends beyond mere size considerations necessary for accommodating symphony orchestras and sizable audiences. A crucial aspect of the impact on the listening experience is embedded in the architectural design of the concert hall itself, giving rise to a sense of sacredness marked by “a positive tension between intimacy and distance, between self-development and normative regulation, and between privacy and publicity” (Ungeheuer 2021, p. 52). This sacralization parallels the honoring of composers’ names and their works, culminating in an almost magical act, “magnificently staged and brightly illuminated – the ‘new’ concert hall buildings from about 1870 were built for a thousand concertgoers (and more)” (Tröndel 2021, p. 18).

Lisbon differs from the conventional European model by lacking a dedicated philharmonic building or magnificent concert halls. The first regular subscription concert series, modelled on the Royal Philharmonic Society of London, was initiated in Lisbon in 1814 (Brito and Cranmer 1990). For a time, the Lisbon Philharmonic Society, established to promote the study, practice and public performance of music, quickly became a cornerstone of the city’s cultural life. However, despite its important role, it faced numerous obstacles throughout the 19th century. The society’s orchestra was repeatedly threatened with disbandment, and its activities were disrupted by important historical events such as the Portuguese Civil War in the 1830s and the Revolution of 1910.

Interestingly, the Portuguese elite of the time showed no interest in creating permanent orchestras or institutionalizing symphony concerts in a designated hall, similar to the model prevalent in Northern Europe,

> where the powerful bourgeoisie, jealous of its own culture (already since the mid-eighteenth century opposed to the aristocratic culture of the *ancien régime*), created concert associations and built at its own expense luxurious halls for the ritual – in which it recognized and glorified itself – of great orchestras performing classical-romantic repertoire in the best acoustic conditions (Carvalho, 1992, p. 167, translated by the author, italics added).

Nevertheless, the sacred realm of music appreciation found its place in the mid-20th century in the FCG concert hall. Established in 1956, the FCG played an important role in reshaping the boundaries of Portuguese musical culture through a series of ambitious initiatives. Alongside the establishment of a professional chorus in 1964 and a ballet company in 1975, the foundation also instituted regular concert seasons in the halls of its new building starting in 1970. Despite the challenges of sustaining the initiatives in Portuguese musical life, "it is almost entirely thanks to the Gulbenkian Foundation that Lisbon can today be considered a relatively important musical center on the European level" (Nery and Castro 1991, p. 175).

The exterior of the FCG building bears little resemblance to the grand concert halls found in other countries, yet it serves the same purpose. Designed by a trio of Portuguese architects – Rui de Atouguia, Alberto Pessoa and Pedro Cid – the Grand Auditorium of the FCG forms an integral component of a modernist complex inaugurated in 1969. This complex comprises horizontal structures characterized by a minimalist aesthetic, with concrete and glass as primary materials. The roofs are designed as landscaped platforms, seamlessly blending into the surrounding garden environment (Gulbenkian 2024).

Despite its minimalistic exterior, the architectural features of this hall receive compliments from listeners. Interestingly, respondents often do not distinctly label the design of the space but rather attribute their admiration for the music to the architectural elements of the venue. It becomes evident that the architecture, while not necessarily secondary, assumes a strictly functional role, meeting the requirements of both performers and the audience:

> It was my husband who told me about a local concert hall that he highly recommended. He described it as world-class, and in 2012, I had the opportunity to experience it for myself – the magnificent building of the Gulbenkian [concert hall]. It truly lived up to its reputation as a premier venue for classical music. It was there that I learned about [Grigory] Sokolov, a renowned pianist, from a poster at the Gulbenkian [Foundation] (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

The Grand Auditorium of the FCG stands out as one of the rare locations in Lisbon where architectural and musical elements intertwine. The hall, characterized by both comfort and thoughtful design, consistently earns high praise in reviews. Most interviewers affirm that the organization of concerts in this venue is consistently of top-notch quality, noting that "the concert hall experience at Gulbenkian [Foundation] is fantastic, with clear organization and structure, except for occasional misbehaviors by some attendees" (30-40 y.o. female / LSI January 2023).

The FCG building asserts itself as a prominent structure, characterized by its sleek and modular design. The selection of materials, meticulously chosen, accentuates the austerity of the architecture. Externally, the facade features only three materials: concrete, stone, and bronze-tinted glass, while internally, wood, stone, and carpeting are prominent. Additionally, the interior spaces are adorned with commissioned works from renowned Portuguese artists. Designed as a comprehensive cultural center, its versatile interiors cater to various functions, allowing seamless circulation between auditoriums and exhibition halls and fostering a harmonious relationship with the surrounding greenery (Gulbenkian 2024).

Noteworthy, many concert attendees frequently draw comparisons between the FCG concert hall and the CCB auditorium, the latter being the second most prominent venue for classical concerts. Often, the FCG hall takes priority. This preference is attributed not only to the architectural merits of the building itself but also to the historical and symbolic significance it carries. Even the most aesthetically appealing new hall cannot immediately assume the symbolic value associated with venues boasting a vivid history, where renowned musical ensembles have performed, and audiences have previously immersed themselves in musical experiences. Such experiences stay in memory, turning the concert hall into a temple of music – a repository of meaningful memories that draw people back, when each visit becomes a return to a sacred space filled with personal significance:

> For me, the Gulbenkian [concert hall] is the pinnacle of concert venues in Portugal. It holds a special place in my heart, being a cathedral dedicated to art. The design is elegantly simple, evoking a sense of reverence and making the music come alive. Although I also attend concerts at [the] CCB, the experience there doesn't evoke the same depth of emotions as I feel at the Gulbenkian [auditorium] (40-50 y.o. male / RPS FCG March 2023).

The Grand Auditorium of the CCB, inaugurated in 1992, was designed by architects Vittorio Gregotti from Italy and Manuel Salgado from Portugal. This auditorium is part of a larger complex that also includes the Museum of Contemporary Art – MAC/CCB. Despite its architectural significance, the auditorium often fails to meet the expectations of classical music enthusiasts, who frequently criticize its perceived emptiness – a concern that is closely linked to its Italian-style construction and multifunctional design. This design accommodates a diverse range of artistic productions, including dance performances, music, theater, opera, film, commercial events, and conferences (CCB 2024).

Those attendees with extensive exposure to classical music often lament the hall's lack of creating an immersive and appropriate atmosphere for such performances, as shown in the following comment: "I didn't enjoy the atmosphere at [the] CCB. [...] I didn't like the building itself as it felt empty and lacked atmosphere" (20-30 y.o. male / LSI June 2023). The "lacked atmosphere" often associated with classical concerts at the CCB can be attributed, in part, to the absence of a fully developed foyer, where the significance of the event might be more tangibly experienced. Additionally, the absence of a nearby cafeteria where the audience could gather during intermission to engage in social rituals further detracts from the overall experience.

Eliciting such commentary can prove challenging in settings like museums or churches, where the atmosphere is imbued with specific cultural or religious significance. In Lisbon, classical concerts extend beyond dedicated halls to encompass the unique spaces within museums. In this context, the museum space assumes a distinct role, contributing to a nuanced layering of diverse experiences. Audiences often exhibit a particular interest in the unique challenges associated with performing music in a museum setting. However, this phenomenon is observed in art and classical art museums, rather than in contemporary art museums. The interplay between these varied spaces produces stunning results, and in the subsequent section, it is shown how the museum environment influences the overall listening experience.

A comparable phenomenon emerges when experiencing music within religious settings. Churches frequently serve as prominent entities fulfilling ritualistic roles. In this scenario, one encounters a combination of two distinct realms: the sacred space of religious observance and the musical space. Listening to music within a religious setting imparts an additional layer of significance, coming from the sacredness of the environment. The already reverent disposition towards the musical composition, composers, and performers intertwines with an established

reverence for the religious space itself. This dual experience is tricky, as the architectural characteristics of temples often prevail over the purely musical (aesthetic) encounter.

> When attending church concerts where religious repertoire is performed, it significantly influences my perception. I feel a sense of safety and familiarity in a church setting as if it were my home. However, the Gulbenkian [concert hall] doesn't evoke the same feeling. The contrast between the civil atmosphere of the concert hall and the spiritual depth of the music creates a sense of contradiction for me (30-40 y.o. female / LSI January 2023).

As illustrated in the comment, some listeners prefer to engage with religious music specifically within temples, contending that these spaces were purposefully designed for such performances. Conversely, within the concert hall, a performance of religious music may be perceived as incongruous, lacking the depth required for a more profound immersion. Nonetheless, experiencing religious music in a concert hall also evokes elements of ritual, offering a sense of departure from everyday life. During this process, the audience member steps out of their daily persona and enters a communal identity, sharing the collective experience of interpreting and ascribing meaning to the music. This process of listening and engaging with the music marks a shift that alters the status of the concertgoer. They become part of a community, participating in a ritual that contrasts with their everyday social interactions. Once the performance concludes, they re-enter their regular life but are potentially changed by the communal and aesthetic experience they have shared. This underscores the concert as a performative ritual that can reshape the listener's emotional and cognitive landscape.

5.1.2. Within the foyer: Preparations for public listening

As Konstantin Stanislavsky, a key figure in the foundation of the Moscow Chekhov Art Theater, articulated in a letter to the theater's cloakroom staff, "Our theater differs from many others by the fact that performances start the minute members of audiences enter the theatre," – this sentiment, now contained in the phrase "theatre begins with the cloakroom," resonates in the realm of classical music concerts, where the experience commences upon entering the foyer.

Participating in a classical music concert from its beginning involves adherence to a set of regulations and conventions, as it stated in the idea of "music worlds" (Crossley 2015), where listening techniques are realized through conventions in the habitual actions of the concert

attendees. This encompasses considerations such as a dress code, use of the cloakroom, limitations on bringing drinks inside the hall, acquisition of printed programs, and awareness of the specialized acoustic environment within the hall. Additionally, each audience member is assigned a designated seat, with prohibitions on the use of lighting and sound recording devices. Even after the concert ends, there exists a customary expectation for every attendee to applaud, regardless of their appraisal of the performance – a gesture dictated by decorum, so as not to draw disapproving looks.

While the main point of a musical event remains the performance of the musical works, no element within the concert hall is inconsequential. Even such trivial aspects as "the buying and giving up of tickets, the arrangement of the seating, the demeanor of orchestra and audience, the taking of drinks in the foyer, [and] the purchase of a program booklet" (Small 1998, p. 76) bear significance. The discussion primarily revolves around the manifestation of audience behavior within the concert hall's space before the actual performance. It is noteworthy that before the start of the concert, the audience can exhibit their sociality freely. This pre-concert phase allows for a display of social interactions without violation of sound regulations. Consequently, this period, marked by freedom and spontaneity, distinctly forms the social nature of the concert experience.

The foyer serves as "a place to eat and drink and socialize, to see and be seen" (ibid., p. 23). Musical performances, of diverse genres, have always been occasions where the public, at least in part, attend to observe and be observed. This social aspect is essential for the event's meaning. While the upcoming ceremony involves a strict separation between socializing and listening, with designated spaces for each, the foyer maintains its own set of rules and regulations. Notably, a mandatory ticket check is a prerequisite for entry into the hall, and attendees are advised to leave their belongings in the cloakroom.

In the foyer of the FCG, attendees take a moment to affirm their presence and connection to the event. Even for those attending alone and unfamiliar with others, a sense of inclusion is nurtured as they buy coffee and observe their surroundings. The layout of the FCG foyer encourages visibility, facilitating interaction among attendees. It is not uncommon to recognize notable figures, such as distinguished politicians, amidst the crowd. Similarly, during intermissions, as the public gathers back in their designated areas, a sense of communal participation in the event is further heightened.

As mentioned in the comment above, the foyer serves as the sole space for performers to interact with the audience since performers and audience members are generally strangers to each other: “They enter and leave the building by separate doors, occupy separate parts of it, and never meet during the event” (Small 1998, p. 42). At the FCG, it is not uncommon for the audience to encounter their favorite performers after the concert in the foyer, providing an opportunity for fans to seek autographs. Knowledge of this post-concert interaction is a specific technique that individuals learn, as not everyone may be aware of this practice.

Figure 2. Socializing of the public in the cafeteria before the concert at the FCG (photograph by the author).

> Intermissions hold great importance for me, and I am disappointed when they are absent. On one occasion, I had the opportunity to meet a renowned performer through personal connections. I enjoy the opportunity to meet people and feel at ease in such encounters (20-30 y.o. male / IDI January 2022).

In contrast to the FCG, the foyer at the CCB appears somewhat concealed from the audience. Upon entering, attendees ascend the stairs and quickly access the concert room, with the buffet located in a separate building. This layout creates a lack of social areas. Moreover, during evening events, there is a risk that the buffet may already be closed, limiting opportunities for social interaction during intermissions. The absence of elements such as carpeting, wooden decoration, and areas dedicated to socialization significantly diminishes the

function of the foyer at the CCB. This lack of ambiance reduces the overall concert hall experience, transforming the space into a utilitarian area primarily intended for quick consumption, rather than a setting conducive to the appreciation and reverence of music.

It should be noted that the nature of musical performances in the 18th century was quite distinct from contemporary norms. It was common for performances to experience several breaks during an event. Additionally, it was not the norm for musical compositions to be played in their entirety from beginning to end as a single piece. Instead, the music was often segmented by other activities or pieces, reflecting a different approach to the consumption and appreciation of music. The fluid structure of these performances suggests a more flexible experience of music, contrasting sharply with the uninterrupted, focused listening expected in today's concert settings (Goehr 1992).

The very design of any foyer space shapes the spatial relationships among its participants, setting them up for musical communication and instilling anticipation of the forthcoming triumph of the musical performance. An integral aspect of this unique listening experience involves the mastery of preparation techniques and navigating through the pre-concert ritual. As shown in the preceding chapter, the social significance of such rituals remains substantial. However, what is referred to as the spatial factor, along with its attendant regulations, assumes a pivotal role in constructing the listening experience.

This introduces a liminal phase, which is emblematic of transformation and is recognized across cultures as a period of significant symbolic importance. It is a time when normal constraints are lifted, and the individual exists between two worlds. Turner describes this phase as an interval "when the past is momentarily negated, suspended, or abrogated, and the future has not yet begun, an instant of pure potentiality when everything, as it were, trembles in the balance" (1982, p. 44). It is an interlude of "betwixt and between" (Turner 1970), where new meanings and arrangements are negotiated through ritualistic performances. This focus on liminality underscores its critical role in the "orchestration" of personal metamorphosis that

> is connected to the complex ordering of individual or social transitional situations such as puberty, status changes, new jobs, marriage, and pregnancy. This liminal condition, which is often enacted quite literally by crossing a threshold or moving to a new place, is characterized by the temporary suspension of familiar everyday rules and the renegotiation of social norms, roles, and symbols (Bachmann-Medick 2016, p. 82).

Both Turner and Goffman articulate a fundamental human narrative: an individual or group moves to a new position within the social hierarchy. This transition may be accepted or blocked, but regardless, it provokes a crisis due to the need for the overall social structure to adjust to the change. This readjustment is enacted performatively, through theater and ritual. While Goffman's work elucidates the performative nature of everyday social interactions, it is Turner who emphasizes the particular significance of the liminal state encountered during transformative processes. Turner's focus on liminality highlights the profound impact of this condition on an individual's identity and status. In this liminal space, conventional limits are relaxed, allowing for creative expressions and redefinitions of self and community.

Turner's theory of cultural performance (Turner 1969; 1985; 1987) offers to understand concerts as social rituals of considerable significance. His analysis of ritual structures broadens the scope of research to include not just ritual theory but also cultural theory. Turner's research builds upon and reinterprets Arnold van Gennep's earlier theory (1961), adopting his structure of rites which delineate the stages of separation, transition, and incorporation. The significance of the audience's presence in the foyer area can be likened to this process. Here, attendees detach themselves from their usual social contexts and adopt the role of concert listeners, becoming part of a community of like-minded individuals who value the observance of concert rituals. This transitional phase serves to prepare participants for their evolving roles and encourages them to embrace the cultural norms inherent to the concert hall space. It acts as a threshold condition, facilitating the immersion of attendees into the musical sphere.

Every concertgoer enters the hall not directly from the street but through the foyer, a transitional zone where they acquaint themselves with whom they will share the musical experience. Crucially, this stage serves as a preparation for more intimate communication among concert participants within the hall. Within the foyer, social interactions, meetings, and conversations unfold. It is within this space that attendees engage in discussions about performances during breaks. Moreover, the foyer provides concertgoers with the opportunity to sense the significance of the impending musical moment, fostering a communal atmosphere in anticipation of the shared experience to come. It is often a very exciting moment, for which they begin to prepare in advance. And it is associated not only with a sense of belonging to a community of those with whom one can share one's emotions, but also with a certain degree of social elevation that allows one to demonstrate access to cultural practices of this kind:

> Attending a concert is like going to a religious ritual or liturgy, it is a unique and elevated experience. The preparation for this event adds to the anticipation and enjoyment. I cannot wait for the evening to arrive so that I can partake in the concert experience (30-40 y.o. female / LSI June 2022).

To sum up, the moment of familiarization with the venue holds great significance. Acclimating to the behavioral norms in a concert environment involves acquiring certain techniques that facilitate integration into the concert community and the shared experience of listening to music with others. This includes embracing a dress code, a topic that is discussed further.

5.1.3. Concert spaces and dress code policy (non)acceptance

In discussing the various protocols associated with visiting concert halls, it is essential to specifically address the phenomenon of dress code compliance. This aspect is frequently highlighted when considering preparations for attending a concert. Dress as a sign often serves as an indicator of the extent to which a listener comprehends and embraces or resists established traditions of music listening in public spaces.

It is noteworthy that there are no formal regulations governing appropriate attire for classical concerts. Instead, behavioral norms are typically guided by unwritten customs, which vary depending on the cultural context of each society. Attire choices and behavioral expectations are often influenced by the collective experiences within a particular city or country, reflecting broader cultural trends. This evolution can be attributed in part to the changing nature of classical concerts, as discussed in the previous chapter, with a shift away from elitist associations towards accessibility for a wider audience, who now perceive them as a form of leisure activity. This parallels the approach taken when visiting museums or cinemas, where dress codes are not typically a concern, allowing attendees to address wardrobe considerations for concert halls with similar ease: “When it comes to dress code, I try to dress appropriately for the occasion. While I won’t wear formal outfits like a wedding suit, I also avoid overly casual outfits, preferring a relaxed yet polished look like what I would wear to work” (30-40 y.o. male / IDI December 2021).

Certainly, this was not always the case. In the early 20th century, classical music concerts were accompanied by a distinct ritual linked to a specific dress code. In contemporary times,

the persistence of a dress code for a segment of the audience can be attributed to the classical concert's status as one of the most conservative leisure activities. This phenomenon draws parallels with attending church services: historical evidence indicates that dress codes in churches were more stringent in the past, and while the observance of a strict dress code during Sunday services has somewhat relaxed, it may still take place in cases of established family traditions or within parishes with stricter regulations.

In Lisbon's concert halls, audiences often prefer more formal attire, clothing suitable for the occasion, as a means of preparing themselves to actively engage in a specific event: "On the part of the concertgoers, there is a dress code, there is the feeling of sublimity and grandeur in relation to what they get from the stage" (Ungeheuer 2022, p. 52). While a dress code can raise the importance of the event, following such a code is not obligatory – the opinion endorsed by the majority of audience members: "When attending concerts, I try to dress up as it feels like a special outing for me. Looking better than usual adds to the experience" (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

It is interesting to note that many attendees express uncertainty about what attire is suitable for a concert and relate to their experiences adapting to the unspoken dress code prevalent in concert halls. Today, most concertgoers are aware that multiple factors influence the expected dress code. The timing of the concert, its venue, and, of course, the performers and program being featured all contribute to choosing the appropriate form of dress, as explained by one of the interviewees:

> Over time, my opinion on the dress code has changed. Initially, I felt the need to dress up more, but now I usually choose a medium style, like wearing a turtleneck. The choice of dress code depends on the time of day, the venue, and the performer. I feel much freer now compared to when I first started attending concerts (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Noteworthy, the most formal dress code is often associated with concerts considered the most significant of the season, carrying the stamp of special audience interest. This is particularly evident in the case of performances by foreign orchestras and artists. However, in the 2021/2022 and 2022/2023 seasons, since foreign orchestras have not graced Lisbon with their performances, the audience's attention has been concentrated on soloists. Piano recitals are of significant interest, with tickets being sold out well in advance and proving challenging to obtain. It is during these solo programs that the strictest dress code is observed, as highlighted by one of the respondents, who believes that "evening concerts are more serious, and when

people attend those to see well-known pianists, the dress code tends to be stricter" (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Certainly, not everything depends solely on the characteristics of the space. Even in a traditional hall like the FCG, there may be attendees dressed informally. Often, these individuals recognize that the nature of events held within these walls encourages a more relaxed and informal approach to listening. This is particularly evident in concerts designed for families with children, where the relaxed atmosphere is further supported by the fact that the event takes place on a Sunday, allowing for a more casual dress code:

> Sunday concerts at the Gulbenkian [Foundation] are a wonderful initiative to improve people's understanding of classical music. These concerts, mostly attended by families on Sundays, have a more informal dress code. People wear T-shirts and jeans and are not judged for this (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Observing the audience at the CCB, one can infer that the dress code is less strictly enforced. This is likely attributed to the fact that the space of the CCB is not exclusively for classical concerts, and the absence of a dedicated foyer further diminishes the opportunity for attendees to showcase their attire: the CCB lacks the typical social environment where dressing up serves as a means of social display. The democratic nature of the institution implies a more relaxed attitude among the audience regarding what is considered appropriate attire for a concert. It is uncommon to meet someone wearing a tie at the CCB, as well as in museums and churches where attendees may arrive unexpectedly without prior planning. Of course, exceptions do exist.

It can be observed that the more a space deviates from being exclusively oriented towards classical music performances, the more relaxed the dress code tends to be. Conversely, a strict dress code often indicates that the space itself imposes its own rules of behavior and is primarily centered around the performance of classical music. The degree of formality in dressing often correlates with the nature and exclusivity of the venue's programming. However, even at prestigious venues such as the FCG, contemporary classical music concerts typically do not enforce a specific dress code.

The topic of the dress code serves as a reminder that classical concerts are not only steeped in deep traditions but are also highly ritualized phenomena. Notably, the dress code of musicians has persisted over time. In all mentioned orchestras, musicians adhere to this

traditional formal attire, typically consisting of black suits for men and formal dresses or suits for women. Musicians continue to take the stage in formal attire and maintain the tradition of formal acknowledgment of the musical performance they collectively create. On the other hand, the dress code for the audience can hardly be described as strict. Rules regarding it are nearly nonexistent outside of concert spaces, especially at open-air concerts.

5.2. Acquaintance with the Concert Space

Acquaintance with a concert hall is a crucial aspect that reflects the necessary listening techniques for a classical concert. This involves understanding the layout of the concert hall, including its acoustic characteristics, which influence the selection of seats and, consequently, the purchase of tickets. While the acoustic features of a specific seat in a particular concert hall are essential, the visual impact also plays a crucial role and, in many cases, takes precedence over the auditory experience when deciding on ticket obtaining.

5.2.1. Concert room designs and sound directions

The acoustic aspect in the design of modern concert halls is widely acknowledged as paramount. Today, every concert hall undergoes meticulous acoustic planning during its design phase, followed by comprehensive acoustic testing upon completion of construction. In the case of the Grand Auditorium of the FCG, a dedicated consultant was enlisted to formulate the competition brief, with ongoing acoustic and noise consultancy provided by William Allen throughout the project. He highlights the primary acoustic feature of the hall as its adaptable stage. However, he notes that the introduction of luxurious chairs and carpeting, as per the request of the Gulbenkian Council, is a regrettable choice from an acoustic perspective. According to Allen, these elements "contribute […] an undesirable increment of absorption, the only merit of which is that the hall does not differ greatly in acoustical character between empty, for rehearsal, and full" (1987, p. 477).

Overall, the Grand Auditorium of the FCG enjoys a positive reputation for its acoustic qualities. Listeners commonly commend the well-balanced tones of strings and woodwinds, along with the consistent clarity and warmth throughout the space. However, occasional

criticism is raised regarding "a slight lack of depth during loud orchestral passages [limiting] a little the excitement of the performance" (Barron 1978, p. 484). Additionally, differences in sound between the stalls and the balcony are noted, as expected. Similarly, the lack of sound projection from behind in the back rows is also predictable.

Regarding the acoustic facilities of the FCG, most interviewees do not express any disappointment, likely because they are not acoustics experts. Instead, they emphasize that there is a substantial difference between listening to music in a purpose-built concert hall and a space not originally designed for concerts. This is indicated by the common opinion that "the way people perceive and emotionally connect with music is often influenced by the concert hall itself, as different venues evoke distinct moods […]" (20-30 y.o. male / IDI January 2022).

The size and acoustic properties of venues invest in shaping audience behavior and their perception of musical events. Larger concert halls contribute to a loss of subjectivity – in such expansive spaces, listening occurs within a collective body, governed by established traditions and rules. Any deviation from these norms becomes highly noticeable. This may explain why some listeners prefer concerts in smaller venues, like museum halls, where they feel safer in terms of public control. Smaller rooms are often perceived as "more pleasant, calmer, and secure than larger ones, although these distinctions may diminish in the presence of unpleasant sound sources" (Tajadura-Jiménez et al. 2010, p. 419). Anyways, audiences often feel more secure and comfortable in smaller venues, partly due to the absence of monumental scale that can be intimidating, as shows the comment of a musical festival attendee at *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*: "I find that listening to music in a museum setting, such as the one we are attending, and in a concert hall, provide different experiences, and I feel comfortable in modest environments" (20-30 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

Frequently, the preference for more modest spaces is driven by a trivial yet significant factor – namely, the smaller audience size. The appeal lies in the reduction of distracting sounds that could otherwise interfere with the enjoyment of the music. Visitors to these spaces often report a better listening experience, finding it particularly appealing in chamber settings. They express a sense of fatigue when in larger halls, sharing the listening experience with a larger audience, but acknowledge this as a trade-off for the opportunity to hear symphonic music in the same setting:

> I find small venues to be more appealing. The intimate atmosphere allows for a better immersion, and I appreciate the energy of live music. The behavior of the audience is another factor that attracts me to small venues. In concert halls, there are more distractions from coughing or phones not being switched off, which can be quite bothersome (60-70 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

Listening to music in a smaller venue, such as museums and churches, is more relaxed, as the listener is not engaged in a grand event with a large audience. In these settings, the rules of behavior and listening norms tend to be more flexible. Typically, the lights are not dimmed, and the audience can freely choose any available seats. Moreover, attendees may exercise various activities such as reading the program, using their phones, or even dozing off. This relaxed atmosphere is facilitated by the less demanding nature of the audience, as explained by one of the chamber festival attendees at the MNAA: "Being in a museum setting to listen to music creates a more relaxed atmosphere, allowing me to enjoy the experience without being so serious or restricted by rules, such as keeping the lights dimmed" (18-25 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

Certainly, the democratic and relaxed atmosphere in smaller venues is not solely attributed to the audience but is also influenced by the properties of the performance spaces themselves. For instance, at the FCG, the atmosphere at chamber music concerts is similarly strictly regulated, indicating that it is not merely a matter of the repertoire performed but rather a result of the hall settings and audience size. The smaller the hall, the more the individuality of the listener takes the space, making it a decisive factor for some individuals in choosing their preferred concert experience, for example, as with concerts in museum spaces: "One of the aspects I appreciate about this [museum] place is the more democratic and informal environment. There is a welcoming atmosphere here, less formal compared to other places" (50-60 y.o. female / RPS MNAA April 2023).

The acoustic properties of such non-traditional concert halls present another consideration. Spaces not originally designed for concerts can often be acoustically poor, although this is not a universal rule. Acoustic challenges are frequently encountered in concerts held in churches. Religious spaces pose difficulties due to their multiply amplified acoustic effects. Successful concerts in churches often involve the participation of choirs and small performing ensembles, aligning with the historical context of compositions like Bach's cantatas, which were composed for such settings. Otherwise, the acoustics present challenges for both performers and listeners,

as one concertgoer at *Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Encarnação* remarked: "However, this concert did not seem quite right to me because the sound quality was unusual. I am used to hearing the cello in concert halls with softer acoustics" (18-25 y.o. male / RPS INSE March 2023).

Performing musicians often compare concert halls to musical instruments that they, too, must play: "[…] certain halls are perceived to respond to the variations in the played music more than others" (Pätynen and Lokki 2016, p. 3797), or even different types of music. As one respondent states, choral and organ music, for example, is best suited for performance in churches – in fact, in the spaces for which such music was created. Authentic performance, which means "employing 'period' or 'original' instruments and techniques" (Sadie 2001a, p. 241), can be reflected in authentic listening, i.e. listening to music in the spaces for which it was written. This assumption is supported by the following comment, which indicates that for some contemporary listeners, the priority is to immerse themselves in authentic sonic environments:

> I have a habit of attending numerous classical music concerts. I appreciate all types of music, from medieval to avant-garde compositions. Some types of music, such as organ or choir music, are more suitable for performance in churches (40-50 y.o. male / RPS ISR November 2022).

In some cases, the opposite scenario occurs, such as the performance of symphonic music in a cathedral. An example of this was one of the most challenging concerts of the OML at *Basílica da Estrela*. During the performance of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony, the orchestra found itself overwhelmed by its sounds, transforming the acoustic space into a cacophony that was indistinct and deafening. Finally, the orchestra struggled to maintain cohesion.

This instance also illustrates that the modern concert hall is designed with the assumption that a musical performance is a system of one-way communication – from composer to listener through the medium of the performers. Consequently, "it is natural that the auditorium should be designed in such a way as to project to the listeners as strongly and as clearly as possible the sounds that the performers are making" (Small 1998, p. 26).

5.2.2. Seat selection: Beyond the acoustic factors

Upon entering a concert hall, visitors are expected to find their designated seats – a common practice shared with other public performance spaces like theaters or cinemas. Typically, the seat assignment is specified on the ticket. However, certain concerts, such as festival concerts at the FCG, or chamber music performances in more intimate venues, may not have designated seats. In these instances, the importance of selecting a seat for a particular acoustic or visual effect may be less critical.

The purchase of tickets for concerts is a relatively recent practice. The early concert societies, which emerged around 1730, were essentially private affairs, restricted to a limited number of subscribers who were subjected to a rigorous social fitness test before gaining admission. The practice of selling tickets, thereby opening the event to anyone with the means to pay, "originated in the emerging mercantile society of England in the late seventeenth century but did not become the rule until well into the nineteenth" (Small 1998, p. 40).

In concert halls, much like in theaters, there often exists an unspoken hierarchy of seats, influenced by various factors, primarily visual and acoustic considerations. Survey data indicates that most visitors prefer seats in the middle or towards the back of the hall. It is commonly believed that these locations offer more favorable acoustics, even though they are typically priced lower than seats at the front, as proven by the following response: "When I attend concerts, I usually prefer to sit in the back to get more of a sound experience" (20-30 y.o. female / RPS FCG December 2022).

When selling tickets, concert organizers, including the FCG, prioritize the visual accessibility of performers. This approach creates an opportunity for listeners to see the musicians which is often correlated with their financial means. Consequently, seats in the front are typically sold at significantly higher prices than those in the balcony. This pricing strategy not only incorporates visual considerations but also reflects a form of social representation: sitting in the front row still feels like a privilege for many attendees, but there is a rationale behind it, since for those who sit in the front row there are no visual barriers to watching the music being performed.

> Attending concerts at the Gulbenkian [Foundation] can be expensive for the average Portuguese person. I used to buy tickets for the last row but then I tried to get a better seat,

> especially for the row that is usually empty and reserved for officials (20-30 y.o. male / LSI October 2022).

This comment illustrates a certain technique associated with the fact that many concertgoers, after purchasing a cheaper seat, prefer to move to unoccupied seats in the front. This gives them a better viewing position, but partially sacrifices the acoustic advantages of the seats in the middle of the hall. In this competition between the auditory and visual aspects, the visual often wins. Sitting in the front row and experiencing a performance, even if the chosen seat is not acoustically perfect, can be a more impactful experience than sitting in the middle in an acoustically superior space without visual engagement or a more comprehensive view of the stage. Certainly, the general experience depends on the type of the concert. For instance, at the FCG, there is a growing trend of concerts that involve visual interaction between the audience and performers. These often feature recitals or solo programs by singers that extend beyond traditional music presentations. They may include theatrical episodes where performers integrate dramatic elements and dance into their shows.

Concert attendees often try to find a balance between visual and auditory experiences. In larger halls, physical proximity to the stage does not always guarantee optimal acoustic fidelity. Orchestral performances tend to favor seats in the center of the auditorium, while chamber concerts encourage audience members to observe the performers more closely and engage in a more intimate sonic experience. In such cases, the closeness between musicians and listeners plays a crucial role in shaping the sound, as "sound events turn into physically perceptible relationships at the moment of performance" (Borchard 2021, p. 83). However, this factor does not always dictate venue choice. Ultimately, listening techniques involve finding a compromise that considers various factors, including price, accessibility, acoustic quality, and visual aesthetics, as highlighted in one of the interviews:

> As for seats at concerts, my favorite ones are in the middle, where I can see the center of the orchestra. I prefer to be seated a little further back, but not too far back that I can't see the sides. This is a common preference (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Another aspect related to ticket purchases is the option to buy season tickets. Institutions like the FCG offer season tickets for the entire concert season, allowing listeners to have a designated seat for the entire series of concerts, ranging from symphonic performances to piano recitals. Once listeners purchase a season ticket, they are typically unable to change their seats and are obliged to occupy them for all concerts included in the season ticket.

The practice of having a booked seat for all concerts via obtaining a season ticket means that individuals around the attendee also may have season tickets for their seats. This ticketing approach contributes to a more intricate process of being part of a community of like-minded individuals – people who attend concerts regularly. However, it is worth noting that, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, the audience at the FCG is not primarily focused on enhancing social connections: very often concertgoers may sit next to each other for many seasons without ever engaging in conversation.

A challenge associated with season tickets is the huge number of concerts included. Individuals often find themselves having to make choices about which concerts to attend and which tickets to either donate or sell. Additionally, scheduling becomes a consideration, as attendees need to align their calendars with concert dates that are known a year in advance. While season tickets offer convenience by eliminating the need to search for a seat and providing an opportunity to get acquainted with neighbors, they are also cost-effective, being cheaper than the total cost of tickets for specific dates. Season tickets at the FCG are usually the first to be sold, allowing purchasers to secure tickets for better seats.

The OML does not offer season passes as it lacks a dedicated concert hall, and tickets are generally available for almost any concert. However, selecting the right seat can be challenging, as it requires knowledge of the specific hall where the concert will be held. Since the orchestra performs in various venues, it may not be easy for individuals to determine the best seats. Despite this, seat prices are usually consistent across concerts – this contributes to a more stable price-making policy for the orchestra.

For chamber concerts or performances in churches, a formal seating arrangement is typically absent. Often, these concerts are free of charge, making it a straightforward decision for attendees to take front-row seats, enabling strong visual engagement with the artists. This setting offers a distinct way of experiencing a live performance, with variations in lighting regulations and visual effects, along with a different mode of listening. Despite these differences, the general mode of public behavior in various concert spaces remains consistent with the restrictions common to classical concerts. How sound and light restrictions affect the experience of being in a concert hall is discussed below.

5.3. Witnessing a Live Performance: Sound and Light

The entirety of experiencing a live classical music performance within a specific concert hall framework, with its controls and characteristics, can be referred to as the predominant influences of two key factors: sound and light. When attending a concert in such a venue, the act of listening implies adaptation to a particular sonic environment, which means simply keeping silent for the audience. This mode of silence significantly influences the listener by shaping both one's bodily and culturally, coordinating the sense of engagement with others in the act commonly referred to as listening to music in the concert hall. This aligns with the observation that classical music is fundamentally intended to be experienced primarily through attentive listening, emphasizing its role within a dedicated listening environment. Visual elements play a crucial role in this experience, determined by the arrangement of light, external visual stimuli, and the observation of performers. These factors collectively contribute to the distinctiveness of the live musical encounter, developing personalized techniques that consider the audience's inclination not only to acquire listening skills but also to enjoy the act of listening to music in the concert hall.

5.3.1. Behavioral constraints: The regime of silence

The communal nature of a concert experience necessitates obedience to certain rules. Observing behavioral restrictions, such as maintaining stillness throughout the performance, refraining from unnecessary movements, avoiding tapping one's feet, or engaging in conversation with neighbors during the concert, is imperative. All this can be interpreted as "collective milieu-specific behavior that avoids disturbing the attention of others when listening to music" (Tröndle 2021, p. 16). While these regulations might appear perplexing, particularly to younger audiences – for instance, the prohibition of applauding between movements, – experience often leads each listener to comprehend and appreciate these norms. A young concertgoer articulates this experience as follows:

> I believe that some of the rules of behavior at classical music concerts can make the genre less accessible, although I acknowledge that some rules, such as not clapping during the [breaks between parts of a] performance, make sense as they improve the overall experience. While I believe that classical music should be more accessible, I don't think

> reducing the rules or etiquette of attending concerts is the solution. I don't feel uncomfortable with the rules (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Speaking about concert etiquette in the 18th century, musical compositions frequently served as a background element during church services or courtly gatherings, acting as an accompaniment to other activities rather than demanding a singular focus. From a contemporary perspective, the public did not align with the definition of an audience engaged in active listening, as "even the term 'audience' is misleading here, for music was not so much listened or attended to, as it was worshipped, danced, and conversed to" (Goehr 1992, p. 192). Common practices included applauding, talking, or even singing along during a performance, reflecting a more interactive and less formalized relationship with music. Early concert performers utilized non-sacred indoor spaces as their venues. In Germany and Austria, town theaters commonly served as concert halls when not hosting theatrical productions. This practice was adopted by the Royal Theatre in London towards the end of the 18th century, marking a gradual shift towards more specialized venues for music performance.

Nowadays, despite the significance of observing etiquette in classical music concerts, it remains a notable concern in prestigious institutions like the FCG and more democratic venues such as the CCB. Any deviation from the norms has the potential to disrupt the musical autonomy that shapes a distinct listening attitude. This disruption, as it can be explained by using the ecological approach to listening, carries "important consequences for the ways in which people listen – or perhaps think that they *should* listen – within concert culture" (Clarke 2005, pp. 127-128, italics added). Furthermore, conforming to these disciplinary rules has become the standard in concert halls, resulting in "a style of listening that values technical focus, specificity, and adherence to the particular work as virtues" (ibid., p. 135). Presently, the recognition of these attributes has transformed into an assertion that this mode of behavior is the only authentic means of truly experiencing music.

Primarily, this concerns restrictions related to the creation of various noises. Notably, participants in classical music concerts exhibit a heightened expectation for the strict control of silence regimes during performances. Intriguingly, not all listeners show the same level of vigilance in detecting violations of concert etiquette. Audiences at both the FCG and CCB try to maintain empathy, attributing occasional breaches of etiquette to a commonplace physiological need that any individual may experience to some degree, as indicated by the comment below:

> However, one challenge that sometimes spoils the experience of live concerts is the unavoidable coughing that can be heard in concert halls. While I understand that it is a natural human tendency, it can be quite unpleasant, interrupting the sublime atmosphere of the music. Nevertheless, it serves as a reminder of our common humanity and the imperfections that come with it (40-50 y.o. female / RPS CCB February 2023).

As previously mentioned, all these behavioral norms are formally designed to establish the conditions for uninterrupted and attentive listening to music. These practices are tied to the aesthetics of classical concerts, as they are formally structured to foster an environment conducive to uninterrupted and attentive listening to music. However, they also promote a form of disembodied listening and discourage spontaneous audience reactions, representing "a matter of controlling affect as a collective ritual action" (Ungeheuer 2021, p. 54). This observation resonates strongly, as absolute silence and emotional restraint are defining features of classical and contemporary music concerts. This persists even when the music itself evokes profound emotions, suggesting that music can be perceived as belonging more to the rational sphere than to the emotional one.

Interestingly, this aspect of concerts faces widespread criticism today because such impersonal listening experiences can be replicated through recordings. Additionally, this poses a challenge for younger listeners who perceive these norms as overly restrictive (Dobson and Pitts 2011). Their impressions of concerts are often influenced by extramusical factors, including familiarity with behavioral expectations in the concert hall.

It is noteworthy that the aesthetics of the classical concert involves reducing the influence of the audience's voice. The evolution of musical practice, progressing from intimate chamber salon concerts to grand symphonies in opulent concert halls, indicates a trend toward diminishing the role of active participation from the audience in favor of elevating music and illustrious composers. This motive persists today in shaping the dynamic between the audience and music. A listener may not be familiar with the performers or a specific composition, yet one frequently expresses one's intent as follows: "I am going to listen to Beethoven tonight!"

Even in concert halls like the FCG, where meeting a casual listener unaware of the specific rules of sound etiquette is uncommon, the challenge of maintaining a quiet acoustic environment persists to this day. However, it is crucial to acknowledge the fact that the contemporary audience, as articulated by an informant, has notably improved in its behavior.

According to a regular attendee, this improvement is largely attributed to the spreading of musical education among new visitors, particularly young people:

> Fortunately, the public has improved in terms of behavior. Since the 1980s, there has been a noticeable increase in respectful behavior among concertgoers. The presence of numerous music schools and jazz schools has contributed to the growing level of appreciation and knowledge among audiences (70-80 y.o. male / IDI April 2022).

Notably, improvements in audience behavior, especially concerning listening etiquette, often reflect the acquisition of such etiquette through experience and musical knowledge. However, this enhancement is not exclusively attributed to formal education. Frequently, young audiences acquire knowledge about the requisite rules of behavior through various online platforms. These platforms serve as valuable resources, offering information about the specificities of classical music concerts and providing guidance on proper conduct to avoid inconveniencing other attendees.

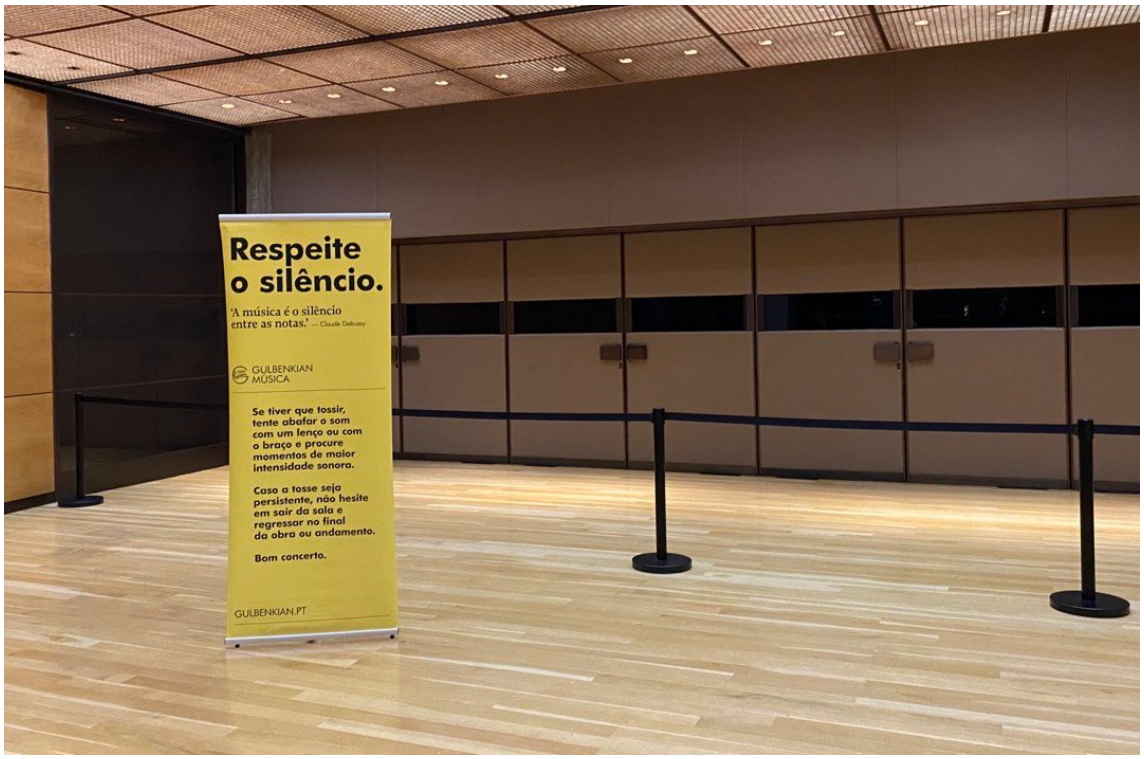


Figure 3. A banner with the inscription "Respect Silence" in front of the entrance to the concert room at the FCG (photograph by the author).

At the FCG, especially during periods when the audience is prone to colds, notices can be found before entering the concert hall cautioning against the impact of coughing on others' enjoyment of the music. A banner with the headline "Respect Silence" suggests that listeners

should cough discreetly, especially during louder moments in a performance, and urges those with a severe coughing fit to consider leaving the hall. Expectedly, the introduction of such banners correlates with a noticeable decrease in the frequency of coughing during performances.

Despite the presence of such announcements, their effectiveness is not universal. As per one interviewee, there are situations where audience members may feel forced to make remarks if coughing becomes disruptive. The irritation is particularly pronounced when coughing occurs at crucial moments, such as when the conductor is poised to start the performance. Moreover, this concert attendee finds it unacceptable to cough even between parts. This strict viewpoint is common among concertgoers, often justified by their high expectations and standards:

> In cases where people make noise during a performance, I don't hesitate to intervene and ask them to be considerate. On the other hand, if I am deeply immersed in music, I appreciate the presence of other audience members. It upsets me when people cough or make noise at crucial moments. In the past, there were guidelines to encourage appropriate behavior, including refraining from coughing even between movements (70-80 y.o. male / IDI April 2022).

Another informant underscores the necessity of providing additional information for visitors attending classical concerts. For such people, audience noise is not a significant problem, and they are willing to tolerate violations of the sound regime, refraining from contributing to such violations by themselves:

> As for the behavior of spectators, such as people making noise or unwrapping candies, I don't look at them openly. I make a conscious effort to be punctual and even avoid coughing, as I am always mindful of its effect on the overall impression. Concert halls such as the Gulbenkian [Foundation] have established rules, and in the past, they issued special cards to instruct visitors about concerts (40-50 y.o. male / IDI February 2022).

Interestingly, the strict rules according to sound etiquette sometimes take precedence over more fundamental expectations for attending classical music concerts. In Lisbon, for instance, the presence of listeners in outerwear during the winter is unlikely to cause embarrassment, a scenario that can be unthinkable in concert halls in Germany or Great Britain. Nevertheless, one's comprehension of the appropriate techniques in a concert hall evolves, and exposure to various venues with their distinct characteristics aids listeners in navigating the established norms of behavior.

Certainly, various circumstances and situations may lead a concertgoer, even one who accepts the rules of sound etiquette, to violate the norms established in a specific concert hall. The audience's reaction is likely to be more severe at the FCG compared to other venues like the CCB. However, according to most respondents, there is nothing more aggravating than the sound of a mobile phone ringing, especially when it occurs at the most inconvenient moment, disrupting the overall pleasure of a performance. Interestingly, some attendees prefer to avoid public concerts for this specific reason, even though they still find it challenging to fully enjoy listening to music via recordings or broadcasts.

Recorded announcements before the start of a concert typically serve as a reminder for the audience to silence their mobile phones and avoid taking audio or video recordings. Sometimes the performers or conductors themselves address the audience and ask them not to applaud, even between different performances, if this is due to the concept of the performance. However, these announcements seldom address sound etiquette rules that imply the audience should not applaud between movements of a multi-part work, such as a piano concerto or symphony. Simultaneously, the audience desires active participation in the concert, not merely as passive consumers but also as contributors to the musical experience. The only permissible moment for the audience to express their opinion and temporarily disrupt the sound regime of the concert is when they can applaud.

The matter of applauding during a musical performance is a delicate one. Applauding in an inappropriate place, such as between movements of a piece, can easily identify newcomers. And vice versa – the one who first starts applauding at the right time turns out to be an expert attendee. Younger audiences are often familiar with when it is appropriate to use applause to request an encore from an artist or orchestra. Artists may decide to grant an encore when they sense that the audience is unwilling to let them leave the stage and continues to applaud. In many cases, these standing ovations are initiated by regular concertgoers who are well-versed in the concert ritual.

In venues like the FCG, those who engage in untimely applause may face reprimands or even hissing, though this response is typically reserved for the minority. However, during the performances of the Sunday Concerts series in the same hall, the audience tends to feel freer to express emotions, and applauses may occur in various places without consequences – it is just difficult to imagine anyone admonishing them. A similar situation unfolds at the CCB, where the issue of applause is often overlooked. One may notice a slight disappointment on the faces

of experienced music enthusiasts when an audience member, unfamiliar with listening etiquette, intervenes with applause after the first movement of a symphony. Nevertheless, newcomers are expected to adapt to the established norms regarding applause, and they tend to learn these conventions over time, as emphasized in the following comment: “If I’m confident, I will applaud first, but if I’m unsure, I’ll wait until someone else starts applauding” (30-40 y.o. male / IDI December 2021).

Figure 4. Standing ovations, signaling the audience’s appreciation and often prompting the performer to give an encore, are a common occurrence at the FCG (photograph by the author).

Undoubtedly, inappropriate applause can be disruptive for both performers and listeners. However, not all attendees are inclined to offer remarks or express disappointment. Many individuals vividly recall their initial experiences attending public concerts and exhibit a sympathetic attitude toward new concertgoers:

> I don’t mind when people applaud outside of the usual moments, but it is not something I particularly enjoy. I always applaud, even if the performance is not perfect, but a standing ovation should only be given to truly brilliant performances (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

Understandably, attending a concert with a group may provoke the desire to share thoughts or comments. However, adapting to the expectations of the concert audience involves speaking

very quietly, if at all, to avoid disturbing fellow attendees. While brief exchanges of a couple of comments may be acceptable, talking throughout the entire performance, even in hushed tones, is considered disruptive to the overall musical experience and reflects a lack of respect for the event: “During concerts, I often have the urge to share my thoughts or comment on something with the person accompanying me. However, I always do it discreetly and quietly so as not to disturb others” (30-40 y.o. male / IDI December 2021).

In general, it can be observed once again that the audiences of concert halls in Lisbon tend to stay quite friendly towards etiquette violators. Even if someone remarks on the “wrong” applause, it is typically considered a gesture of behavioral adjustment for the collective, aiming to improve the overall, more holistic impression of the entire piece for all listeners. While this gesture may initially discourage new concertgoers, they often come to realize the importance of conforming to established norms. This behavioral adaptation is seen as a “natural” outcome of training in listening techniques, as explained by one of the listeners highlighting the necessity of strict rules and the need for adaptation to them:

> Silence is an integral part of music and should be respected. As someone with no musical training, attending my first concert felt like the culmination of something. However, I quickly realized that I should applaud when everyone else does. People sometimes want to react spontaneously, and while this is understandable, it can be disruptive to the orchestra and conductor preparing for the next movement (40-50 y.o. male / IDI February 2022).

Thus, to reinforce this thesis, it is necessary to refer again to Bourdieu’s terminology. Bourdieu’s sociological perspective emphasizes the organization of societies into specific “fields,” which are shaped and divided by what he terms the “habitus”, a “system of durable, transposable dispositions” (1992, p. 53). The habitus shapes the overall behavioral patterns and life opportunities of individuals. When individuals are born into a given habitus, their musical taste is developed during their formative years and becomes incorporated into the structure of the intended class hierarchy. The classical music concert appears here as a field shaped and shared by the habitus, which consists of mentalities and practices internalized through cultural and social conditions. Habitus reflects the hidden knowledge that shapes the way people perceive and interact with the world, in this case with music in public space. Thus, the approaches to listening that a person develops are part of the transmitted habitus, contributing to the formation of a socially conditioned approach to music perception.

5.3.2. Lighting regulations and visual collaboration with musicians

Lighting plays another crucial role in shaping the audience's behavioral norms essential for a performance. Unlike the more pressing concerns related to sound regulations, the issue of lighting is not as acute. It is no longer surprising that the lights at a classical music concert can be significantly dimmed, leaving only the stage illuminated. This tradition aligns to prepare the audience to reconsider their visual focus, creating a mood of complete immersion in the illuminated space of the hall, primarily the stage. This practice results in what can be described as "impersonal intimacy, a mode of being together of some importance to those who enjoy it" (Gross 2013, p. 236).

Figure 5. The Grand Auditorium of the FCG is plunged into darkness, with the lights focused solely on the stage (photograph by the author).

The impact of dimmed lights on audience concentration is frequently acknowledged by the attendees themselves. They agree that reduced lighting coordinates their focus on the stage, rather than the audience. Dimming the hall lights serves as a signal, suggesting that the concert is about to begin, and conversations should stop. All these "forms of collective behavior control are tools to hone attention" (Tröndel 2021, p. 16). While it is difficult to refute this perspective, it is important to recognize the distinction between different types of attention – auditory and visual. Dimming the lights specifically enhances auditory attention by diverting focus away

from visual stimuli. Thus, collective control influences the types of attention, encouraging audience members to concentrate solely on listening, as it is mentioned in the following comment: “Dimmed lights in the hall allow you to focus better on the performers. Some performers, such as Sokolov, may not even prefer bright lights on stage during recitals” (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

Any visual distraction within the concert hall is perceived as a potential obstacle to attentive listening. Visual communication is primarily reserved for the performers on stage. It is worth noting that older concert halls, such as the Grande Hall of the Tchaikovsky Conservatory in Moscow, are characterized by richer interior decoration, and the lights were kept on during performances. However, these rules have changed over time, and contemporary concert halls tend to feature a strict, minimalist design. Lights are typically switched off during performances, except for instances where artistic considerations dictate otherwise. This underscores the emphasis on lighting conditions: “Listening is preferable in the darkness, while bright light favors viewing” (Borchard 2021, p. 86).

While concert halls typically feature dimmed lighting rather than bright illumination, often in the form of soft, reflected, or barely perceptible light, the emphasis also shifts from redirecting sensory perception to crafting a distinctive concert atmosphere. This atmosphere often exudes a sense of otherworldliness, heightening the audience’s experience as they witness the collective creation of a musical event. Indeed, true mysteries, especially those imbued with ritual significance, are seldom performed in daylight or under bright lighting, underscoring the transformative power of dimmed illumination in enhancing the sense of enchantment within the concert setting, as also notices a concertgoer: “I prefer dimmer lighting during concerts. I think it contributes more to the overall atmosphere” (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

The specific atmosphere – created through light regulations – often constitutes a primary source of the audience’s unique performative experience in the concert hall. As an aesthetic category, atmosphere is not confined to a particular location but instead permeates and shapes the space (Böhme 1995). Consequently, atmospheres are not intrinsic to the musicians or the sounds they produce, nor are they solely tied to those physically present in the space. Rather, they represent the audience’s initial perception when a concert begins, providing a distinctive sense of spatiality.

A notable feature of the FCG auditorium is the fascination expressed by attendees when they enter the concert room and see the backstage screen, offering a view of the garden, is opened. This backdrop, although not often shown, provides a unique listening experience, although it can redirect the audience's focus from the performance itself to the natural scenery. Interestingly, audiences often look forward to the opening of this screen, especially at symphony concerts, when the visual effect adds a greater solemnity to the event, which may involve an orchestra or chorus and may even feature an organ. In chamber programs, audiences usually demonstrate a collective preference for reverence for the art of sounds over visual distractions:

Figure 6. Taking a picture of the stage with the open backdrop screen and the view of the garden at the FCG (photograph by the author).

> As for lighting during concerts, I appreciate the open screen and the added atmosphere of the garden if it is visible. However, when it comes to recitals, I prefer a darker setting where everything except the performer is in the darkness. With an orchestra, this can be more difficult for practical reasons. I don't have a strong preference for lighting at concerts with an orchestra (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

The decision to open the screen is typically reserved for orchestral performances at the FCG. In other cases, especially during recitals, the screen is consistently kept closed. This

deliberate choice by organizers aims to cultivate a more intimate atmosphere for the performer, minimizing extraneous light and visual distractions.

Another aspect related to visual aspects in the concert hall is the visual collaboration between the audience and the musicians. This collaboration is influenced, as previously mentioned, by lighting regulations and the type of ticket purchased or the option to change seats for a better view. The essence of this collaboration, once again, is dependent on the specific concert format. During symphony concerts, the audience typically understands that visual collaboration is only appropriate in specific situations, such as when the visitor has a clear view not only of the entire orchestra but also of individual musicians. In symphony concerts, visual communication is generally considered secondary, with auditory communication taking precedence: “When I attend concerts, I try to visually focus on the performers, but I don’t have to. I can close my eyes and continue to enjoy the music without being too distracted” (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Ideally, the most impactful experience for a listener occurs when they can visually engage with individual performers, as well as witness the orchestra in general, and feel like an integral part of the listening group. This is why spectators often prefer seats in the middle of the concert hall – to be more actively involved not only in the performance but also in the act of listening, essentially becoming an integral part of the entire concert event. Additionally, the opportunity to see the performers is highly valued, as it allows the audience to directly observe the creation of sound through the movements of the musicians. This not only stimulates the perception of musical expressivity but also suggests that the visual component of a live concert performance can enhance our experience of the music, as “visual information conveys a portion of the affective qualities of music” (Chapados and Levitin 2008, p. 641) when the audience can determine the emotional intention of the musicians. As one interviewee expressed, the listener becomes the “attention director.” This witnessing aspect undoubtedly adds significant value to the concert experience and is only made possible through visual communication. Being seated in the front rows, for instance, eliminates obstructions such people in front, allowing for a more direct engagement with the musicians:

> Witnessing the collective efforts of highly skilled and trained musicians is an incomparable experience. That’s why I prefer to sit as close to the front rows as possible, allowing my eyes to scan the stage, observe the cellos and violins, and watch the birth of sound through the combined efforts of all participants. I appreciate observing the performers prepare to

> play, and as a spectator, I become the director of my attention (40-50 y.o. male / IDI February 2022).

In the context of chamber concerts, visual communication with the performers holds significant importance, particularly due to the smaller number of musicians involved. In such intimate settings, listeners are not only focused on the acoustic impact of the performance but also appreciate the visual element. This visual clarity facilitates entering "into a more engaging internal dialog with the musical pieces" (Wald-Fuhrmann et al. 2021, p. 7), allowing the audience to connect on a deeper level. Thus, the ability to distinguish individual musicians and their instruments adds a special significance to the event:

> I remember attending a Baroque concert at the Gulbenkian [concert hall], where I switched to the middle seat, and it was a completely different experience. I could see the musicians, their instruments, and the conductor playing the harpsichord in the center. It was a rare and pleasant experience to see everyone so relaxed (20-30 y.o. male / LSI October 2022).

When it comes to recitals, many listeners purposefully choose seats that afford a clear view of the pianist's hands. This inclination is based on the frequent virtuosic nature of solo performances, and this kind of visual collaboration with the performer adds a special dimension to the experience. The opportunity to observe the movements of the pianist's hands strengthens the audience's appreciation for the technical skills involved in the performance, adding a unique element to the recital experience:

> I like to sit closer to the stage because it creates a sense of intimacy with the pianist and the music. However, if I had to choose, I would prefer seats in the center or, if it is a piano performance, seats on the left side where I can see the pianist's hands. The position of the seats does not significantly affect my experience (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Typically, audience members prefer to sit in the middle of the hall, enabling them to enjoy both visual and acoustic pleasures simultaneously. Some listeners may close their eyes to immerse themselves in the music, which is not possible to maintain for the entire duration of the performance, as shown in the following comment: "Sometimes I prefer to close my eyes and completely immerse myself in the music, and sometimes I like to watch the music being created" (20-30 y.o. male / RSP CCB February 2023).

The concert hall space offers a variety of stimuli for pleasure. The process of observing these factors and seeking the optimal position becomes an integral part of the listening practice

cultivated through the experience of attending concerts. The search for the ideal point, considering both visual and acoustic elements, contributes to the overall enjoyment and appreciation of the musical performance. As one of the attendees recognizes, a key to evaluating the whole performance is the visual accompaniment, and by observing several musicians, consequently, it is possible to regulate the level of musical enjoyment received:

> When it comes to evaluating a concert, I focus on teamwork and the efforts of the musicians as a collective. I usually choose one or two musicians to closely observe and evaluate their contributions to the overall performance. This adds another layer of enjoyment for me (50-60 y.o. female / RSP CCB June 2023).

The interplay between the visual and the acoustic aspects in the concert hall is often resolved through compromise. This entails the audience's preference to not only listen but also observe the performers, all while avoiding any adverse impact on the acoustics. In this context, the experience of being in the concert hall space is crucial, shaping the techniques that listeners employ to strike this balance.

5.4. Outside the Concert Hall: Open-Air Performances

Outdoor performances constitute a separate subject of consideration. The main difference inherent in such events, within the context of the addressed issue, lies in the absence of the conventional concert hall along with its attendant regulations that shape the listener's experience. In this scenario, classical music goes beyond structured and regulated listening, inviting the audience for a more immediate engagement. Nonetheless, the outdoor performance format can be classified as a classical concert. However, this classification proves challenging as the familiar space associated with a classical concert, partly along with its attendant rituals, is notably absent in this context, as the spatial characteristics that typically influence the perception of classical music differ in outdoor performances.

It would be inaccurate to claim that outdoor performances lack the potential for a comprehensive listening experience. Indeed, the construction of the listening experience remains in such instances, with the outcome depending on both the subject of listening (classical music via performers) and the contextual setting of the listener. However, it is more precise to

categorize these events within a specific festival culture that unites music-lovers of various backgrounds.

Primarily, these shows serve two objectives: "[…] they afford audiences the temporary liberation from customary formalities, while, on the other hand, the novel spaces introduce new opportunities for performances" (Kirchberg 2021, p. 189). Concerning the new opportunities for performers, they are related to a particular way of music-making that unfolds away from the traditional stage, offering perspectives for reaching a significant audience simultaneously. However, when it comes to freeing the audience from conventions, this aspect appears more complex and requires in-depth examination.

The garden of the FCG stands out as a prominent venue for open-air classical concerts in Lisbon. This carefully landscaped venue provides a picturesque backdrop, contributing to a serene ambiance conducive to the appreciation of classical music. The commitment of the FCG to the arts is evident in its curation and funding of open-air concerts, particularly popular during the summer months when attendees can enjoy the pleasant weather in green surroundings. Another noteworthy open-air venue is the city park *Vale do Silêncio*, where the FCG orchestra traditionally hosts its summer concert, offering the local community of Lisbon an additional cultural experience. This location introduces a distinctive facet to the encounter with classical music, allowing audiences to partake in world-class performances within a more relaxed and accessible setting.

Another important open-air festival in Lisbon is *Millennium Festival ao Largo* sponsored by the Portuguese bank *Millennium BCP*. Since its inception in 2003, the MFL has become a prominent event in the city's musical life. Taking place in July, it has gained renown for its series of open-air performances, showcasing a diverse range of musical genres for the public. Named after *Largo de São Carlos*, the site of the TNSC, the festival's location reflects initiatives aimed at making high-quality musical performances accessible and advancing the democratization of culture. As underscored in the festival's mission statement, the MFL is deeply committed to nurturing a spirit of shared cultural experiences. It strives to make culture accessible and free for everyone, a mission that has been integral to the festival since its very beginning (Festival ao Largo 2023).

A notable characteristic of the MFL lies in its free-of-charge concerts, ensuring accessibility to all. Seating is organized on a first-come-first-served basis, promoting early

attendance, and contributing to the social ambiance of the event. While prime seats may be reserved, arriving early typically allows for the taking of a comfortable seat. This approach contrasts with standing in a densely populated square, enhancing the overall experience by providing attendees with a more favorable vantage point for observing the stage. Respondents cited a variety of repertoire and free admission as the main reasons for attending concerts: “I enjoy this festival because it offers a variety of classical music, opera, and ballet performances, all for free. I’m not sure what they’ll perform tonight, but I enjoy both the ambiance and the music” (40-50 y.o. male / RPS LSC July 2023).

Figure 7. Classical music lovers who were unable to find seats are standing and overhanging the stage at the MFL concert (photograph by the author).

Examining the festival’s audience, one can notice a remarkable diversity, consisting of genuine enthusiasts, invited celebrities, those with a casual appreciation for classical music, and even casual onlookers who decided to pause and observe the event in the square. Consequently, there emerges a juxtaposition of two distinct approaches: intentional (where individuals purposefully attend the concert) and incidental (where people do not plan to be present at the concert). This also applies to the different approaches to listening – focused listening akin to a concert hall experience, adhering to established rules and maintaining a mode of silence, and a more relaxed form of listening. It is not uncommon to witness attendees at open-air performances engaging in conversations, sharing opinions during the concert, capturing photos

or videos of the orchestra, and even responding to their mobile phones – an act that might be considered unconventional in a traditional concert hall setting.

A classical music lover, who generally avoids such events, raised the issue of sound quality during outdoor performances. The problem relates to sound amplification and digital sound mediation in general, where the sound is intentionally reinforced to create an acoustic environment that compensates for external noise. While this serves as a necessary measure to prevent the musical content from being drowned out by urban sounds, it has unintended consequences. The awareness of the exaggerated sound volume often leads the audience to disregard the usual behavioral norms associated with classical music concerts, providing a more relaxed atmosphere.

This lack of concentration on the musical performance due to amplified sound, according to one interviewee, reduces the overall quality of the musical experience: “Open-air concerts are not my preference, especially when the sound quality seems artificial or oversimplified. It seems that such events are more aimed at entertainment rather than serious music appreciation” (60-70 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023). This statement may appear symptomatic of classical music enthusiasts for whom departing the concert hall signifies the abandonment of established rituals, thereby diminishing the listening experience. However, it overlooks the potential for other, collective forms that can present classical music in a different light for less experienced listeners or for seasoned aficionados who are open to experimentation.

According to the surveys conducted among attendees of such concerts, most perceive them primarily as festive events. The emphasis is not only on listening to music: many visitors are not even familiar with the concert program. Yet music remains an integral part of the experience, formed around access to the exclusive leisure activity that is classical music. Instead, the emphasis is on the atmosphere of the event, its unusualness, and the novelty of participating in an outdoor summer concert. This echoes the lively street festivities that characterize Lisbon, contributing to an overall sense of enjoyment.

> I go to this festival every year, but I’ve never been to the São Carlos [National Theatre] because it’s too expensive. But tonight, I have a chance to hear the theater’s orchestra, and it feels different from being in a concert hall. Being outdoors is nice, especially in the summer, but listening to music is important, not just for the atmosphere. However, I don’t know what they’re going to perform (30-40 y.o. female / RPS LSC July 2023).

Certainly, numerous extraneous factors impact the interaction between the musical text, its performance, and the listener, making it impossible to immerse oneself in the performance at the same level as in a concert hall. However, this does not diminish the value of the experience derived from such performances. Notably, institutions like the TNSC, despite having relatively lower concert standards, facilitate broad access for diverse audiences to the seemingly exclusive and closed realm of classical concerts. Additionally, on festival days, the square in front of the theater consistently faces maximum occupancy, underscoring the broad appeal of these events.

This case study highlights the importance of environmental characteristics in shaping listening practices, ultimately forming what is referred to as listening communities. Such an approach is consistent with the ecological perspective on listening, positing that perception "must be understood as a relationship between environmentally available information and the capacities, sensitivities, and interests of a perceiver" (Clarke 2005, p. 91). It acknowledges the significant role of subjectivity in shaping the auditory world: the sound environment as perceived and experienced by individual listeners, which constitutes their subjective or phenomenal world. However, while each listener's phenomenal world is distinctly personal and shaped by individual experiences and interpretations, it is grounded in the stable biological processes of auditory perception, which are common to all humans.

This duality recognizes that while the perception of music is highly individualized and influenced by personal and cultural factors, it is also based on universal auditory capacities. Therefore, the ecological approach to music perception links the objective properties of the sound environment to the subjective experiences it evokes in listeners. And this is how listening practices are not only culturally shaped but also physically designed according to devotional spatial settings.

CHAPTER 6

Concert Listening in Lisbon and the Formation of Aesthetic Experience

6.1. Musical Works and Listening Preparations

Since the late 19th and early 20th century, a concert has served as a public affirmation of the concept of the musical work, a notion that emerged from a shift focusing on the purely musical aspects of practice. This involves "everything that concerns musical practice – aesthetic theory about music; the music produced; the social status of musicians, be they composers, performers, or listeners; the rules, manners, codes, and mores" (Goehr 1992, p. 123). Additionally, it is expected that musicians devote all their skill and artistic prowess to the execution of the work. Simultaneously, the audience is tasked with mastering "the art of listening": nowadays, "an audience member has internalized the idea of the implicit listener that must be attained and his or her listening skills emulated, or one has somehow failed" (Thorau and Ziemer 2019, p. 9) – engaging with music with focused attention, possibly even with a sense of contemplation and respect, in an act of purely aesthetic and musical savoring (Heister 1983).

The aesthetics of the musical artwork present the defining traits of a contemporary classical concert. The acoustics of the concert hall, carefully selected programs, the extensive preparation of professional musicians, and the conventions of maintaining silence and stillness are all "orchestrated" to foster an ideal setting for both the performance and appreciation of musical compositions (Gross 2013). In addition, the architectural and design elements of concert halls, the glorification of illustrious composers and charismatic performers, dress codes, and various ceremonial practices consistently embody the ideology of autonomous music, which operates independently of external considerations and is valued for its own sake (Cressman 2012). Unlike other arts that rely on external references for meaning, music is entirely self-referential, developing according to its own internal laws and understood solely on a musical level, devoid of conceptual aids or external associations.

Thus, concert attendance involves considerations beyond merely social and environmental factors. It also includes an aesthetic dimension centered around the musical artwork, which means experiencing the properties of the musical object, including formal aspects like composition, as well as properties related to merit or deserving subjective responses, expressive qualities conveying emotions or deeper meaning, and fundamental metaphysical properties (Peacocke 2023).

According to ecological theory, the act of perceiving what is happening in music is central to the construction of musical meaning. This understanding of musical meaning is broad, recognizing that the significance of music is derived from the interaction between the listener and the music, and is contingent upon the listener's active engagement with the musical phenomena, as "perception is fundamentally concerned with picking up what is happening in the world, and picking up what is happening in music is central to musical meaning – if the phrase is understood in an appropriately inclusive manner" (Clarke 2005, p. 189).

This view posits that musical meaning is not merely a matter of internal cognition but is a perceptual process that involves discerning and interpreting the unfolding musical events in the world. In this sense, while listening techniques focus on the individuals' active engagement with music through tools they use to navigate and interact within the musical environment, the ecological approach broadens this perspective to consider the interconnectedness of the listener, music, and the environment in which it is experienced, deepening the understanding of the relationship between music and its listeners.

Extensive research in social sciences has illustrated that individuals' evaluations, understandings, and encounters with a particular phenomenon can undergo significant alterations through framing and priming mechanisms. Framing entails the selection and emphasis of specific aspects inherent to a stimulus to influence its perception, whereas priming means the introduction of supplementary information that subsequently influences how the stimulus is perceived (Wald-Fuhrmann et al. 2021).

6.1.1. Listening preparations: The effect of familiarity

When discussing the preparatory phase of classical music concert attendance, it becomes essential to investigate the impacts of both familiarity and novelty concerning the music to be

presented. The concept of familiarity corresponds to the observation that "audiences for classical music are primarily attracted to works that are familiar to them" (Price 2000, p. 11). The association between musical familiarity and enjoyment has traditionally been illustrated as an inverted U-shaped curve (Berlyne 1970), wherein enjoyment increases with familiarity up to a certain point, beyond which the listener may become tired and subsequently disinterested. Moreover, apart from musical familiarity, the importance of additional information about the compositions being performed is also tied to the enjoyment experienced. This notion resonates with the idea of "the minimization of the difference between expectation and realization in concert-going" (Thompson 2007, p. 33), meaning that the probability of labeling a live concert experience as successful increases when the anticipated elements linked with a specific piece of music are fulfilled during the performance, as is evidenced by the following comment of a concert attendee:

> When preparing for concerts, I have a habit of listening to recordings to familiarize myself with the repertoire, the instruments, and the overall structure of the music. This preparation allows me to fully enjoy the pieces I already know when they are performed live (30-40 y.o. female / LSI June 2022).

The notion of requiring familiarity with the music performed in concert halls is attributed to the intricate nature of this art form. For many listeners, attending a concert has become an extension of their initial exposure to music through recordings. The widespread availability of online music content on a global scale has significantly expanded the horizons of music appreciation, granting individuals unprecedented access to a huge array of musical compositions (Reynolds 2011). The accessibility to an extensive set of music albums and performers, thereby offering various interpretations, has enabled music enthusiasts not only to engage with music spontaneously but also to refine their engagement over time. It is through this process of repeated exposure to music that the ability to appreciate live sound in concert settings is cultivated: "To truly appreciate music, you need to know it. The language of classical music is sophisticated, complex, and abstract. With classical music, you must repeatedly engage with it. It is not like listening to a song that can be easily repeated" (20-30 y.o. male / LSI June 2023).

The argument that classical music's sophistication and complexity imply that only those with cultural capital can enjoy it reinforces cultural hierarchies. This perspective overlooks the fact that an affinity for classical music can often emerge from an individual's extra-discursive

needs – qualities that mature over time within the context of classical concerts. This maturation allows listeners to engage with musical works that may have initially seemed inaccessible. As Small suggests, if musicking is an integral part of performance art, which itself functions as a form of ritual, then it becomes "an aspect of the language of biological communication that every living thing, as a condition of survival, has to be able to understand and to use" (1998, p. 207). Thus, the ability to engage with music is as fundamental and universal to humans as the capacity for language, emphasizing that every individual is born with a musical gift on par with the gift of speech. However, unlike speech, which is continuously practiced and learned in everyday life, the cultivation of musical ability often lacks a similar informal framework for development.

Another crucial aspect pertains to the enjoyment derived from listening to familiar music. In this context, the listener's pleasure does not solely come from recognizing and anticipating musical patterns stored in memory. Rather, it is rooted in the composer's manipulation of expectation, whereby the principal emotional impact of the music emerges. While music contains elements of representation, its primary emotive potency stems from the domain of expectation (Meyer 1994). What becomes important is the structure of the musical composition itself. In this regard, the pleasure derived from familiar music goes beyond mere recognition – it arises from the ability to appreciate the entirety of the piece, comprehending each moment of its unfolding, as exemplified by the following observation:

> When I'm unfamiliar with a piece, I try to identify its structure simply by breaking it down into parts. With pieces I know well, I can perceive and appreciate them as whole [works of art], which allows me to compare different interpretations. The nuances become more apparent when I become acquainted with the work again (30-40 y.o. female / LSI January 2023).

Interestingly, repeated exposure to music also influences changes in tastes and preferences. For instance, individuals initially exploring classical music may favor simpler compositions characterized by smaller scale and modest expressive characteristics. However, as their listening skills develop, their preferences change, leading to a desire for more intricate pieces of music. This progression encourages listeners to seek out new forms of musical engagement, such as enjoying expansive symphonic pieces, thereby enriching their listening repertoire. Consequently, this developmental trajectory may lead to an appreciation for contemporary classical music, resulting in guaranteed enjoyment. However, developing this appreciation is

challenging, particularly when the repertoire of the mentioned orchestras typically excludes contemporary classical music. Moreover, contemporary classical music often deviates from the traditional model of familiarity, with new works by contemporary composers not adhering to the same patterns, making it more difficult to cultivate this skill. This evolution of musical preferences is illustrated by the experience shared by a regular concert attendee:

> At first, hour-long symphonies or big operas seemed prohibitively long to me, but now I feel disappointed when a piece lasts only 20 minutes. Over time, my point of view has changed, and I'm searching for a deeper musical experience (30-40 y.o. female / LSI March 2023).

Certainly, encouraging listeners to acquaint themselves with a specific piece often does not mean only preparatory measures, becoming an integral aspect of the overall musical experience, whether it occurs online or offline. However, despite the potential enjoyment derived from listening to familiar music, it is not always the primary focus. Even though familiar pieces may offer greater enjoyment compared to unfamiliar ones, the essence of live musicking, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, remains its significance. This immersive experience persists, even when individuals attend a concert hall to listen to their favorite compositions:

> Before attending concerts, I make sure to listen to music in advance during the day. This helps me to better understand and appreciate the compositions. However, the experience of a live concert is always superior to listening at home. There is something about the atmosphere and visual aspects that draw my attention in the concert hall (20-30 y.o. male / RPS CCB March 2022).

It is not uncommon, even among seasoned concertgoers, to seek a balance between familiar and unfamiliar pieces within the concert setting. This approach allows individuals to derive distinct forms of pleasure – one from the familiarity of established works and another from the discovery of new compositions. Such a listening practice is prevalent among concert audiences, who, while embracing familiar pieces with a sense of comfort, approach unknown works with a more open-minded disposition, viewing them as an opportunity for a different kind of enjoyment. This point of view is supported by the following comment:

> At today's concert, we'll be listening to Berlioz and another piece which I'm not familiar with. I know in advance that I'll enjoy Berlioz because I'm familiar with it, but I'm also curious to discover new music and expand my repertoire. I'll have the opportunity to form

my own opinion on the unfamiliar piece after the performance (30-40 y.o. female / RPS FCG April 2023).

Experienced listeners possess extensive knowledge of musical works, largely due to regular exposure through recordings and radio broadcasts, such as *Antena 2* programs. What they perceive as "surprise," often associated with the realm of the unfamiliar, primarily applies to live performances. It encompasses the notion of uniqueness in interpretation, along with the unexpected nuances that arise during live performances. This phenomenon explains the enduring attractiveness of well-known compositions in concert programs. Additionally, it is crucial for attracting audiences and maintaining economic viability. Otherwise, they would fail to generate sufficient interest. For example, the FCG used to dedicate a week each season to contemporary music and performances of works by composers like Karlheinz Stockhausen and György Ligeti, but this practice has since been discontinued. Nevertheless, live performances continue to infuse even familiar works with a sense of freshness, ensuring their lasting appeal to audiences:

> Before attending a concert, I always make sure to familiarize myself with the program. However, I don't study the works in detail in advance because I prefer to be surprised during the performance. For example, on Thursday, I listened to Beethoven's *Emperor* Concerto and Mozart's 40th Symphony, and I was already familiar with these works. [...] But I aim to be surprised by interpretations and live performance, because I usually listen to music through headphones (18-25 y.o. male / RPS INSE March 2023).

Similar to how a listener can rediscover enjoyment in a song that has become overly familiar by "putting it away" (Greasley and Lamont 2013), the live nature of a concert performance seems to alleviate the risk of saturation. It offers the audience "a renewed sense of the unexpected even if they are familiar with recordings or a particular recording" (Price 2020, p. 10). Audiences persistently attend concerts, repeatedly immersing themselves in compositions they are intimately familiar with. Simultaneously, they relish the music anew within the distinct context of unique concert experience. This aspect is supported by the following comment:

> Familiarity with a piece can strengthen the enjoyment of a concert. If I know a piece well, such as Rachmaninoff's Second Concerto, I actively seek out opportunities to hear it performed live. Having listened to it countless times, I'm interested in hearing what nuances and interpretations the performer brings. This allows me to appreciate the

> variations and contrasts of previous performances. While listening to a familiar piece, I'll be interested in how the performer approaches it (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Primarily, the focus lies on the performance itself, the sole element capable of surprising or captivating the listener. It is important to acknowledge that the type of musical interpretation to which listeners are used has also been shaped by recordings. Consequently, their surprise may appear from a disparity between their expectations based on familiarity and the actual performance. However, it is worth noting that this reaction is not always positive – audiences may reject a performance if it diverges from the established listening norms set by the most famous recordings. The ability to transcend these norms, embrace new experiences, and appreciate interpretations on their own merits, represents a listening approach accessible primarily to discerning music enthusiasts. This sentiment is echoed by a seasoned concert attendee:

> Attending concerts at the Gulbenkian [Foundation] provides a pleasant element of surprise when I don't know the program in advance. One of the memorable performances I attended was Raúl da Costa's performance of Mozart's 27th Piano Concerto. I was already familiar with the piece and expected to enjoy it, but the performance exceeded my expectations and was one of the best interpretations I have heard live (30-40 y.o. female / LSI April 2023).

A final consideration is related to the fact that even if listeners are not acquainted with a specific musical work, they often possess experience listening to a particular composer or musical style. For instance, when attending a concert featuring Viennese classics – Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven – every attendee will likely recognize certain musical forms associated with these composers. Consequently, they will feel informed about works they may not have heard previously. Engaging in continuous listening to music not only broadens one's familiarity with individual pieces but also strengthens their understanding of styles and genres. This deepened knowledge can then be applied when encountering other musical compositions during live concerts.

6.1.2. Media framing: "Homework" for successful attendance

Listening to musical pieces before attending concerts can be viewed through the lens of media framing, providing an opportunity to delve into online music listening as a mode of engaging with music, distinguished by its unique characteristics. This approach enables an exploration of

the impact of online music consumption on other forms of musical engagement and allows for an examination of media framing as a specialized listening technique. By considering media framing as a tool for acquiring the necessary skills for appreciating classical music, an anthropological perspective emerges, highlighting the significance of listening techniques in musical analysis.

Media framing serves as a channel for facilitating a secure and enjoyable experience that enables the audience to reencounter familiar musical patterns. This concept is supported by the "schemata theory" in music listening, developed by the music physiologist Helen Prior (2016), which assumes that media framing works to "promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman 2003, p. 417). This phenomenon becomes especially relevant when contemplating expansive symphonic compositions, particularly those from the 20th century (Dobson 2016). Despite the daunting length of separated movements within such compositions, which novice listeners can find challenging to acquaint themselves with through pre-listening, the aspect of preparation assumes significant importance for many audience members in this case: "I often listen to music in advance to familiarize myself with it, especially works like those by Shostakovich, where being familiar with a piece turns out to be crucial" (20-30 y.o. female / RPS FCG May 2022).

The familiarity associated with these grand symphonic works offers a feeling of reassurance and predictability, allowing the audience to interact with the music in a manner consistent with their existing cognitive frameworks. This phenomenon underscores the importance of pre-existing musical knowledge in fostering a sense of "sweet anticipation," as it is noted by the Canadian musical psychologist David Huron (2006). Expectation, as a biological adaptation with specialized physiological mechanisms and a deep evolutionary history, finds its application in cultural formats, "where the context for predicting future sounds is dominated by cultural norms" (ibid., p. 3). Without this knowledge acquired through media framing, the extent of engagement with musical performances could be called into question. The level of individuals' engagement during live musical events and the subsequent enjoyment they derive can be viewed as directly dependent on media framing: "When I attend concerts without preparation, it can be difficult for me to fully immerse myself in the performance" (20-30 y.o. male / LSI June 2023).

Certainly, listening to recordings serves as a means for discovering new musical compositions, and this exploration is not always tied to forthcoming concert attendance. Within

the community of music enthusiasts, there exists a range of approaches to this practice. Some more seasoned listeners try not to pre-listen to musical pieces, preferring to experience them freshly during live performances. Conversely, others lean towards post-listening, preferring to delve into musical works they have encountered at concerts, as illustrated by the following remark of a concert attendee:

> In terms of exploring music, I find that recordings and YouTube videos help me discover new works. However, I refrain from listening to music before attending a concert, as I prefer the element of surprise. After the performance, I may search for pieces I heard, and I also use streaming platforms. Although I possess a significant number of recordings, my collection is not extensive (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

In the latter case, the listener underscores the significance of online music platforms, especially when the personal music collection proves inadequate. For such individuals, listening to recordings serves as an essential tool for discovering music, allowing them to enrich their music library and expand their exposure to various compositions. This becomes particularly relevant in occasions like Early music concerts, where rare compositions may be performed, and for this music, no recordings currently exist.

Individuals possess a clear awareness of the differences between experiencing live and recorded music. These two modes of listening complement each other within the broader spectrum of music consumption. Live music gives concerts a sense of uniqueness and heightened aesthetic value, attributed to the immediacy and irreplaceable nature of live events. However, the increasing trend of audiences engaging with mediated representations of performing arts rather than attending live performances "likely means that live performances are in direct competition with recorded performances" (Auslander 2008, p. 24). This dynamic interplay between live and recorded music underscores the multifaceted nature of music appreciation and shows how each mode of listening contributes distinct elements to the overall musical experience, as observed by a member of the festival *Antena 2* audience at the CCB. The festival represents a significant cultural event that brings together diverse audiences with a shared interest in classical music. This festival serves as a distinctive platform for the convergence of listeners and musicians, transcending social boundaries and fostering an environment that minimizes status-related barriers (RTP 2023).

> From time to time, I come across works in the program which I'm not familiar with, and this awakens a sense of curiosity in me. I want to discover them through recordings. There

> is a clear difference between listening to recordings at home and experiencing the magic of a live concert. I remember the first time I heard Mahler's Sixth Symphony live after being familiar with it from recordings, and it was a revelation. The nuances of the music seemed to come alive, revealing new layers and depths that were not evident in the recording (30-40 y.o. male / RPS CCB February 2023).

Media framing can also function as a strategy for entering a community of listeners. An example of this is when individuals utilize media framing to enhance their sense of assurance before attending a concert (Dobson 2010b). This preparatory method enables them to anticipate how the audience will respond to the musical stimuli during the performance. For individuals who may encounter social obstacles in the context of public concerts, media framing serves as a pathway to connect with the broader community of listeners. It offers them a means to enter this domain without feeling like outsiders, thereby providing a sense of security and inclusion within the listener community. A young attendee of the festival *Antena 2* notes that adopting media framing techniques has the potential to break down the elitist barriers often associated with classical concerts:

> As for today's program, I have familiarized myself with the pieces to be performed, perhaps out of a sense of security, but also driven by a thirst for discovery. I enjoy the opportunity to encounter new musical experiences, to be fascinated by the melodies, and to let the music take me on a journey of emotion without analytical biases. Classical music, in essence, is not elitist. However, some institutions put barriers, while others seek to break them down. The Gulbenkian [Foundation], while respected, could benefit from efforts to make it more accessible to a wider audience (18-25 y.o. male / RPS CCB February 2023).

Furthermore, media framing operates as a technique that provides a performative lens through which the preparation for classical music concerts is viewed. Within this framework, individuals exhibit diverse forms of engagement, such as showing support, expressing interest, paying attention, demonstrating appreciation, or even expressing displeasure. These actions contribute to closing the "autopoietic feedback loop," a concept described in performativity theory (Fischer-Lichte 2008), which involves engaging both performers and the audience in an ongoing process of creation. This process integrates newly emerging, unplanned, and unpredictable elements from both sides, fostering dynamic interaction. Consequently, individuals may engage in a process of self-comparison with the performing musicians, acknowledging the shared responsibility for the success of the live performance:

> Before attending a concert, I always do my homework and listen to music in advance. Music has always been an integral part of my life and listening to it is deeply rooted in my daily routine. I feel that preparation is essential, as do the musicians themselves. The audience also has a role to play. If you love music, it becomes more than just a passive activity. I can listen to a piece many times, even up to 40 times, as I did once before attending a performance of *Petrushka* [by Igor Stravinsky] (60-70 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

This comment underscores the importance of active, rather than passive, involvement in the concert experience. It highlights the necessity for individuals to engage proactively by familiarizing themselves with musical compositions beforehand. Through this preparation and subsequent emotional engagement with the performers during the live concert, audience members fulfill their roles as informed and participatory listeners. The success of the concert depends on their active engagement and informed participation. Consequently, this framework exhibits the dynamic and interactive nature of the concert experience, wherein audience members perceive themselves as essential contributors to the overall performance.

6.1.3. Priming as a source of listening engagement

Media framing is often closely linked with the concept of priming, playing a vital role in acquiring comprehensive knowledge about a musical piece. Research suggests that listeners' attention and enjoyment can be influenced by written information (Fischinger et al. 2020). This approach entails delving into aspects such as composers' biographies and the historical context surrounding the creation of different musical compositions. Studies have identified the impact of program notes and other supplementary textual information on the emotional responses arising during musical performances at concerts (Vuoskoski and Eerola 2015). As highlighted in a recent qualitative study (Bennett and Ginsborg 2018), which examined audience reactions to program notes. The research aimed to identify the modes of information that can enhance the experiences of both listeners and performers. In the experiment, listeners from two small groups, one in the United Kingdom and one in Australia, attended a performance of unfamiliar music, which was presented twice. Program notes were given only after the first performance. Following the receipt of the program notes, all respondents demonstrated different listening behaviors: 39% of the listeners reported a positive impact of program notes on their listening experience.

Prior information has the potential not only to change listeners' emotions, attention, or enjoyment of the music but also to influence more fundamental aspects of how the music is perceived (Crozier and Chapman 1985). It can significantly influence the perception of basic musical characteristics, such as dynamics or the affective character of a piece, as demonstrated by Antony Chapman and Allan Williams (1976). Their study highlights how tastes and preferences are shaped by such information. The context in which music is heard not only induces effects in evaluations but also operates at higher levels, resulting in changes in subjective listening experiences.

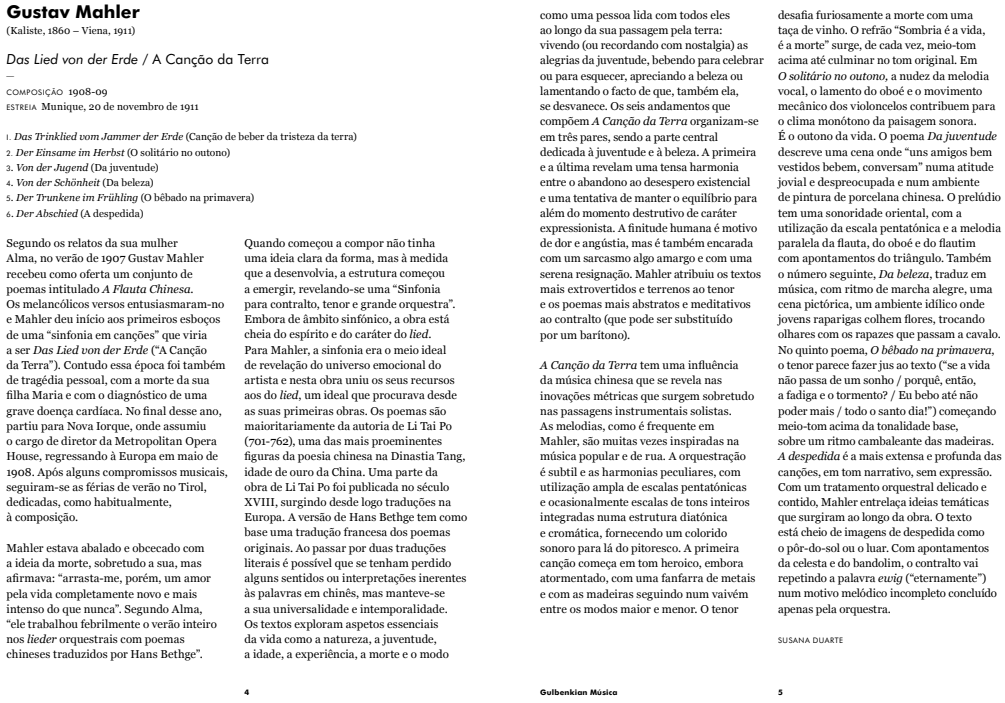
The combination of media framing and priming functions as a preparatory mechanism that provides listeners with essential background information and insights, thereby enriching their capacity to engage with and derive intellectual satisfaction from the musical performance, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

> One aspect of classical music that I find intriguing is reading the composer's biography and understanding the historical context in which the music was created. Knowing the era, the composer's background, and the first concerts where the piece was performed adds depth to my appreciation of the music (40-50 y.o. male / RPS CCB February 2023).

There are various formats for priming, with one of the most common being the information available online or in printed materials that listeners can consult when preparing for a concert. Booklets hold a significant role in the priming process, often distributed free of charge before the concert. These booklets typically contain details about the performers and musical works, the duration of the performance, along with a comprehensive list of the pieces to be performed (which is often important for timing applause). Notably, the FCG sends the concert information, including a link to the program note, in advance via email.

Moreover, concert booklets can offer background information on specific music genres, contributing to the audience's general education. Additionally, they may present librettos – the lyrics upon which the music is based, especially with vocal performances by choirs or vocalists. Librettos can be particularly helpful for untrained listeners or when the performance is in a language unfamiliar to the audience: "I don't usually read about composers and their works due to lack of time, although I have a desire to do so. Sometimes, when it comes to lyrics, I find booklets helpful, as they often give excellent translations" (30-40 y.o. male / IDI May 2022).

At every concert at the FCG, the concert program description is displayed on screens for the audience's convenience, particularly for those who may not have a printed booklet or access to online information. This practice serves to capture the audience's attention effectively. Similar to labels in art exhibitions, it can also guide the public in expressing particular emotions and experiencing specific states of mind.



Gustav Mahler
(Kaliste, 1860 – Viena, 1911)

Das Lied von der Erde / A Canção da Terra
—
COMPOSIÇÃO 1908-09
ESTREIA Munique, 20 de novembro de 1911

1. *Das Trinklied vom Jammer der Erde* (Canção de beber da tristeza da terra)
2. *Der Einsame im Herbst* (O solitário no outono)
3. *Von der Jugend* (Da juventude)
4. *Von der Schönheit* (Da beleza)
5. *Der Trunkene im Frühling* (O bêbado na primavera)
6. *Der Abschied* (A despedida)

Segundo os relatos da sua mulher Alma, no verão de 1907 Gustav Mahler recebeu como oferta um conjunto de poemas intitulado *A Flauta Chinesa*. Os melancólicos versos entusiasmaram-no e Mahler deu início aos primeiros esboços de uma "sinfonia em canções" que viria a ser *Das Lied von der Erde* ("A Canção da Terra"). Contudo essa época foi também de tragédia pessoal, com a morte da sua filha Maria e com o diagnóstico de uma grave doença cardíaca. No final desse ano, partiu para Nova Iorque, onde assumiu o cargo de diretor da Metropolitan Opera House, regressando à Europa em maio de 1908. Após alguns compromissos musicais, seguiram-se as férias de verão no Tirol, dedicadas, como habitualmente, à composição.

Mahler estava abalado e obcecado com a ideia da morte, sobretudo a sua, mas afirmava: "arrasta-me, porém, um amor pela vida completamente novo e mais intenso do que nunca". Segundo Alma, "ele trabalhou febrilmente o verão inteiro nos *lieder* orquestrais com poemas chineses traduzidos por Hans Bethge".

Quando começou a compor não tinha uma ideia clara da forma, mas à medida que a desenvolvia, a estrutura começou a emergir, revelando-se uma "Sinfonia para contralto, tenor e grande orquestra". Embora de âmbito sinfónico, a obra está cheia do espírito e do caráter do *lied*. Para Mahler, a sinfonia era o meio ideal de revelação do universo emocional do artista e nesta obra uniu os seus recursos aos do *lied*, um ideal que procurava desde as suas primeiras obras. Os poemas são maioritariamente da autoria de Li Tai Po (701-762), uma das mais proeminentes figuras da poesia chinesa na Dinastia Tang, idade de ouro da China. Uma parte da obra de Li Tai Po foi publicada no século XVIII, surgindo desde logo traduções na Europa. A versão de Hans Bethge tem como base uma tradução francesa dos poemas originais. Ao passar por duas traduções literais é possível que se tenham perdido alguns sentidos ou interpretações inerentes às palavras em chinês, mas manteve-se a sua universalidade e intemporalidade. Os textos exploram aspetos essenciais da vida como a natureza, a juventude, a idade, a experiência, a morte e o modo como uma pessoa lida com todos eles ao longo da sua passagem pela terra: vivendo (ou recordando com nostalgia) as alegrias da juventude, bebendo para celebrar ou para esquecer, apreciando a beleza ou lamentando o facto de que, também ela, se desvanece. Os seis andamentos que compõem *A Canção da Terra* organizam-se em três pares, sendo a parte central dedicada à juventude e à beleza. A primeira e a última revelam uma tensa harmonia entre o abandono ao desespero existencial e uma tentativa de manter o equilíbrio para além do momento destrutivo de caráter expressionista. A finitude humana é motivo de dor e angústia, mas é também encarada com um sarcasmo algo amargo e com uma serena resignação. Mahler atribuiu os textos mais extrovertidos e terrenos ao tenor e os poemas mais abstratos e meditativos ao contralto (que pode ser substituído por um barítono).

A Canção da Terra tem uma influência da música chinesa que se revela nas inovações métricas que surgem sobretudo nas passagens instrumentais solistas. As melodias, como é frequente em Mahler, são muitas vezes inspiradas na música popular e de rua. A orquestração é subtil e as harmonias peculiares, com utilização ampla de escalas pentatónicas e ocasionalmente escalas de tons inteiros integradas numa estrutura diatónica e cromática, fornecendo um colorido sonoro para lá do pitoresco. A primeira canção começa em tom heroico, embora atormentado, com uma fanfarra de metais e com as madeiras seguindo num vaivém entre os modos maior e menor. O tenor desafia furiosamente a morte com uma taça de vinho. O refrão "Sombria é a vida, é a morte" surge, de cada vez, meio-tom acima até culminar no tom original. Em *O solitário no outono*, a nudez da melodia vocal, o lamento do oboé e o movimento mecânico dos violoncelos contribuem para o clima monótono da paisagem sonora. É o outono da vida. O poema *Da juventude* descreve uma cena onde "uns amigos bem vestidos bebem, conversam" numa atitude jovial e despreocupada e num ambiente de pintura de porcelana chinesa. O prelúdio tem uma sonoridade oriental, com a utilização da escala pentatónica e a melodia paralela da flauta, do oboé e do flautim com apontamentos do triângulo. Também o número seguinte, *Da beleza*, traduz em música, com ritmo de marcha alegre, uma cena pictórica, um ambiente idílico onde jovens raparigas colhem flores, trocando olhares com os rapazes que passam a cavalo. No quinto poema, *O bêbado na primavera*, o tenor parece fazer jus ao texto ("se a vida não passa de um sonho / porquê, então, a fadiga e o tormento? / Eu bebo até não poder mais / todo o santo dia!") começando meio-tom acima da tonalidade base, sobre um ritmo cambaleante das madeiras. *A despedida* é a mais extensa e profunda das canções, em tom narrativo, sem expressão. Com um tratamento orquestral delicado e contido, Mahler entrelaça ideias temáticas que surgiram ao longo da obra. O texto está cheio de imagens de despedida como o pôr-do-sol ou o luar. Com apontamentos da celesta e do bandolim, o contralto vai repetindo a palavra *ewig* ("eternamente") num motivo melódico incompleto concluído apenas pela orquestra.

SUSANA DUARTE

4

Gulbenkian Música

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Figure 8. A fragment of the concert booklet from the FCG with a detailed description of Gustav Mahler's symphony *Das Lied von der Erde*, including the titles of the movements both in German and Portuguese (available from: https://cdn.gulbenkian.pt/musica/wpcontent/uploads/sites/3/2022/05/GM_Programa_0607_out_Screen.pdf).

Additionally, in multi-movement performances, the sequence of parts is prominently displayed above the stage on a scoreboard, sometimes accompanied by the lyrics, aiding the audience in understanding what the choir or vocalist is singing. These efforts aim to bridge the gap between prepared and unprepared audience members, offering everyone the opportunity to engage in the listening experience seamlessly. However, not all listeners appreciate this priming approach. Some audience members express dissatisfaction, noting that these visual cues detract from their ability to fully immerse themselves in the auditory experience**.** They find themselves constantly looking at the screen displaying the titles of the pieces, which hinders their ability to focus on experiencing the performance more deeply. Those who feel discomforted by or prefer to avoid textual information often possess prior knowledge acquired through cultural training.

It refers to the theory of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1984), which posits that the experience of being in a museum space is influenced by one's knowledge of art. In this context, the presence of written information is perceived as unnecessary for those already familiar with the music. The lack of need for detailed descriptions, for example, implies that art is intended for an audience that is already well-prepared and familiar with it, reinforcing the idea that these cultural spaces are intended for those who possess the requisite skills and cultural capital:

> I find it useful when the audience can understand the essence of performance through the titles displayed on the screen indicating the movements of the piece. However, these credits have a meaning beyond mere indication, as they shape our perception by providing a contextual scenario of what is to come. And yet, despite this disturbance, I couldn't help but feel a lack of connection (20-30 y.o. female / RPS FCG December 2022).

Priming can manifest in unexpected ways, such as originating from the performers themselves. In Lisbon concert halls, it is customary not to announce the program beforehand. However, it is not uncommon for conductors or performers to provide insights into the program's structure, discuss the composers, or highlight specific instruments featured in the concert. By breaking the bounds of the purely auditory experience (as no one speaks from the stage in classical concerts – this is not theater, only music is heard), performers create a more intimate connection with the audience and intensify their engagement with the music. This direct dialogue with the audience consistently generates a positive response from the audience:

> It was a fantastic feeling during the concert when the conductor mentioned that the orchestra played historical instruments. He explained that the strings were constructed differently, and I could clearly feel and appreciate the amazing soft sound they produced (30-40 y.o. female / LSI January 2023).

Another form of priming is attending lectures before concerts. A member of the Richard Wagner Circle shares that for him, this is the closest way to obtain information about a work being performed:

> I don't usually read program notes or materials provided at concerts, as they tend to bore me. However, if there are lectures or talks about music available, I try to attend them, especially at the Gulbenkian [Foundation]. I use Room 3, a listening guide available at the venue (70-80 y.o. male / IDI April 2022).

Such lectures serve as a significant avenue for socializing and connecting with like-minded individuals. Not everyone can spare the time to arrive an hour before the performance for an additional event, such as a comprehensive lecture among a group of sophisticated music enthusiasts. However, this method of priming meets the needs of the FCG audience. It allows them to gather in one space with fellow music lovers who not only possess the formal etiquette to be full members of the listening community but also boast sufficient knowledge about music.

Figure 9. A group of listeners at the lecture before attending the concert at the FCG (photograph by the author).

In addition to the phenomenon where listeners revisit recordings after the concert to re-experience and reinforce the emotions they received during the live performance, there is also a tendency to seek additional information after the concert. This desire typically originates from the need to comprehend the aesthetic essence of the piece rather than focusing solely on its formal features, aiming to understand its hermeneutics:

> After concerts, if I particularly enjoyed the music, I do post-concert homework by looking for other performances or listening to audio guides. This helps me create context around the music, such as learning when it was written and what its deeper meaning is, which ultimately shapes my enjoyment of it. I also enjoy learning more about the lives and work of composers and musicians. Most importantly, I want to connect with the emotions that the artists are trying to convey to their listeners, rather than focusing on the ideas behind the music (40-50 y.o. female / RPS FCG March 2023).

6.2. Listening to Specific Classical Genres at Concerts

The formation of the aesthetic experience is influenced by the musical object itself – that is, by a specific piece of music presented within the appropriate forms that suit its content. In classical concerts, these forms can typically be categorized into three genres: solo concerts, chamber music concerts, and symphonic or orchestral concerts that necessitate the presence of a conductor. In Lisbon's musical scene, chamber music finds representation through chamber concerts, which are classified as classical concerts due to their repertoire, while symphonic music remains the main determinant of a classical concert. This is even though Portugal lacks a state-funded philharmonic hall to host a philharmonic orchestra dedicated to promoting symphonic music. Hence, there is a special attitude to solo concerts, which tend to be the most popular genre, where the performer is alone, interpreting the musical meaning directly to the audience.

6.2.1. Recital performances

When discussing how various concert genres influence the aesthetic experience of listening, it is relevant to begin with the most "privileged" type of concert, commonly referred to as a recital. As discussed in Chapter 5, the recital represents a somewhat distinct form of concert experience. Historically, recitals were primarily associated with elites and aristocrats who organized musical salons. During this era, the emphasis was less on the individual musician and more on the event itself, which held significant secular and symbolic value.

With the emergence of large concert halls, the status of the solo performer underwent a significant transformation in the eyes of the public. With the competition among musicians, many of whom are predominantly soloists, and the limited opportunities to show their talents, the solo musician has acquired a certain mythological status, compared to that of Niccolò Paganini, where the audience often attributed their extraordinary skills to otherworldly forces. "Artists with the kind of charisma that gives them real drawing power today would appear to be as scarce as diamonds and as hard to cultivate as orchids" (Small 1998, p. 30). One of the earliest pioneers of solo performances was Franz Liszt, who in the 1840s initially referred to solo performances as "monoconcerts" before adopting the term "recital," which is more familiar today.

The aesthetic experience of listening to a solo performer today is closely intertwined with the reverence exhibited by the audience. It is not without reason that tickets for concerts featuring touring pianists (virtuosos) are the first to sell out at FCG concerts. An important factor in piquing the interest of the local audience is that the performer typically offers only one concert. This special attitude of the audience is also reflected in the observance of a strict dress code, as previously demonstrated, and in the insistence on dimming the lights so that the focus is solely on the solitary figure in the center of the stage. Furthermore, possessing essential information about the soloist becomes obligatory – a situation such as attending a concert by chance is not only difficult to imagine in such circumstances but is frowned upon. Familiarity with the stage gods is deemed necessary. These strict requirements are upheld by the FCG audience themselves, as illustrated by the remark of a young attendee recalling the experience at a concert featuring the Russian pianist Evgeny Kissin:

> I attended a performance by [Evgeny] Kissin and had the privilege of sitting in the front row with my friend. I heard someone behind me asking who the pianist was. It seemed strange to me that people would buy tickets, even though they were not cheap, without even knowing which pianist they were going to see (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

In recitals, the aesthetic experience is particularly influenced by audience participation in constructing musical meanings. This experience demands heightened attention, concentration, willpower, and a broad spectrum of knowledge – from understanding the performer to familiarity with the works. Often, this immersive experience necessitates visual engagement from the listeners, directing attention towards the soloists and observing their gestures that shape the production of sound. “I particularly enjoy piano concertos and find it most enjoyable when I can see the pianist’s hands during the performance. Ideally, the perfect place for me would be on the stage itself” (30-40 y.o. male / IDI December 2021). The position to “see the musician’s hands” becomes a focal point of attention, emphasizing the importance of visual perception in refining the overall experience.

This desire – to sit on stage alongside the pianist – signifies an awareness of the deeply collaborative nature of creating musical meaning in recitals. It emphasizes the need for the audience to engage in this process with maximum intensity, to the extent that the listening conditions provided in the concert permit.

An intriguing observation that resonates with the performative aspects of listening to solo music in concert halls relates to the theme of sequential perceptual movement within the

musical narrative. When discussing the potential success of the solo music listening experience, the respondent mentions a certain mental role reversal – the internal enactment of the music instead of or alongside the soloist. Such role-swapping is a distinctive feature of the aesthetic experience construction when listening to solo music. It allows each audience member to relate to the soloist, creating a shared creative space – an aspect that is more challenging to achieve at symphonic concerts, where relating to a large ensemble on a corporeal level is quite difficult. The following comment, although referring to a soloist playing with an orchestral accompaniment, vividly illustrates the listener's intention to become part of the performance by following the pianist's gestures: "I really enjoyed the interpretation by Raúl de Costa, which made me feel as if I were playing the piano myself. It was amazing" (30-40 y.o. female / LSI April 2023).

6.2.2. Chamber music concerts

There are specific aspects regarding the construction of aesthetic experiences related to chamber music. As previously mentioned, Lisbon's chamber music scene is somewhat limited, with concerts often held in museum or church venues during festival periods. The same festival-oriented practice is observed by the FCG, which organizes annual quartet concerts within its concert hall. Repertoire selection plays a significant role in this process. Many ensembles, specializing in chamber music performance, prioritize promoting Early music from the pre-classical period, which may not always resonate with audiences seeking to hear works by composers such as Mozart or Schubert. Locating such repertoire can be challenging within Lisbon's musical landscape, as highlighted in the following comment:

> I am very fond of different genres of music, but I am more attracted to chamber music. However, it can be difficult to find chamber music concerts, especially if they are not free. Nevertheless, I enjoy chamber music as much as [symphony] concert music. My repertoire preferences depend on the era, and I am particularly fond of Baroque and Classical periods (40-50 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

One of the notable Early music groups based in Lisbon is *Ludovice Ensemble*, which is committed to promoting vocal and instrumental chamber repertoire from the 17th and 18th centuries. Their approach to this music is historically informed, prioritizing authentic interpretations that utilize antique instruments to recreate the soundscapes of past eras. The

ensemble frequently performs at prestigious cultural venues such as the CCB and the FCG (Ludovice 2023).

Lisbon is also home to another notable Early music ensemble, *Divino Sospiro*. This group also specializes in performing music from the 17th and 18th centuries, with a particular emphasis on works by Portuguese composers. The ensemble's name, translating to "divine sigh" in Italian, reflects the profound emotional expressiveness typical of Baroque music. Their commitment to this specific musical era, especially in highlighting Portuguese Baroque compositions, plays a vital role in preserving and celebrating a significant yet sometimes overlooked aspect of the country's musical life (Divino Sospiro 2023).

Typically, these ensembles perform in churches, offering the audience religious repertoire from the given era. While this repertoire may not always fit the conventional definition of classical music (not featuring works by famous composers or pieces included in the performing canon), there are exceptions. Often, aesthetically, such events encourage the audience to immerse themselves in the religious context of the music being performed. Moreover, some audience members express doubts about experiencing religious chamber music in concert halls. Despite this music traditionally being performed in church settings, contemporary listening habits may not always lend themselves to feeling comfortable and satisfied with the acoustics in such venues:

> When I attend church concerts where religious repertoire is performed, it significantly influences my perception. In a concert hall, people rarely come with no special preparation, whereas in a church they may stumble into the event by chance. Personally, I feel confident and familiar in a church setting, as if it were my home. However, the Gulbenkian [concert hall] doesn't evoke the same feeling. The sound quality in churches can be compromised due to echo and loud acoustics (30-40 y.o. female / LSI January 2023).

Chamber concerts frequently bring up accessibility concerns, not just in terms of repertoire but also regarding performers. Indeed, one chamber music enthusiast rightly noted the lack of classical chamber ensembles – such as quartets – in Lisbon. Instead, it is more common to find orchestral soloists who self-organize and perform as soloists in chamber ensembles. This practice can be observed in free concerts featuring soloists from the FCG orchestra, as well as soloists from the OML presenting chamber programs at various venues across the city. However, this practice is perceived as somewhat artificial, as highlighted by the interviewee's response when asked about their interest in chamber music performance:

> I truly appreciate chamber music, but unfortunately here in Lisbon the opportunities to listen to it are limited. There are only a few chamber ensembles, and I occasionally attend piano concerts. I'm familiar with *Solistas da Metropolitana*, but there is no regular chamber music quartet or ensemble here. While the musicians may know each other, they don't focus on learning works by composers such as Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart for concerts (40-50 y.o. male / RPS FCG March 2023).

Similar to solo performances, listening to chamber music demands various factors that contribute to the creation of a unique musical experience. These entail the tangible presence of musical sounds, allowing listeners to immerse themselves in the harmonies and timbres of different instruments and experience their blend. Additionally, there is the opportunity to observe performance techniques, witness the cohesion of the ensemble, and perceive the communication between performers, transforming the purely aural experience into a visual one. Furthermore, the sense of historical significance associated with the performance adds another layer, offering a journey through time to the era of court chamber concerts, especially when these performances take place outside of conventional concert halls. Additionally, as indicated by the comment below, the music of the "noble era" is often associated with aristocracy, reflecting a hierarchy of cultural values. These elements – the historical setting and the perceived aristocratic connection – are central to what captivates and resonates with audiences:

> One aspect that I like is the emotional connection when listening to musicians performing live. This allows for a deeper understanding of specificities such as the timbre of the music. I find it a privilege to be able to enjoy classical music in a more intimate chamber setting, reminiscent of the noble era of chamber music. Being close to the musicians allows me to observe their playing techniques and their instruments (50-60 y.o. female / RPS MNAA April 2023).

There is a perspective suggesting that chamber music is suited for intimate spaces. Connected to this notion is the idea of authenticity, not only in performance but also in the act of listening, as mentioned in Chapter 5, analyzing concert room designs and sound directions. Here, authenticity can be associated not just with special acoustics settings – meaning the spaces for which music was written – but with the atmosphere of unique historical places as "an attempt to re-create the context of the original performance" (Sadie 2001a, p. 241). Opulent museum halls or richly adorned churches undoubtedly enhance the construction of a distinctive aesthetic experience when listening to chamber music, further reinforcing a sense of aristocracy. It is worth highlighting that for many listeners, the acoustic quality – so crucial in symphonic or

solo music – takes a back seat, with "a certain intimacy" of the sonic environment being of greater importance:

> In my school years, chamber music performances were a common occurrence. I think there is a certain intimacy in chamber performances, where you are more intimate with the musicians and the acoustics play less of a role. I think listening to Mozart in such an intimate setting is more authentic (20-30 y.o. male / RPS MNAA April 2023).

6.2.3. Symphony and choral concerts

When considering orchestral music and the nuances of listening to it in public spaces, this subject not only warrants separate analysis but also stands as a pivotal theme in studies of aesthetic experience formation. For many individuals, the presence of a large symphony orchestra and conductor on stage epitomizes what they perceive as classical music *ipso facto*.

The aesthetic experience encountered by many attendees at symphony concerts is linked to the orchestral repertoire itself, which is vast and often unpredictable. A primary challenge in this context is acquainting oneself with the specific piece of music being performed. Unlike other types of concerts, familiarity with the composition is crucial here. It is difficult to imagine a listener who would be willing to sit in the concert hall for an hour or more, attentively absorbing every measure of a large orchestral work without prior preparation. Here, "ear training" emerges as a fundamental factor in constructing the necessary perceptive experience and ensuring its success. In response to inquiries about the public's enjoyment of Mahler's Fifth Symphony performance at the CCB, one concertgoer emphasized the necessity of listening training above all else:

> I prefer large orchestral works. Listening to Mahler is always a challenge, but in preparation for the concert, I decided to listen to his music on Spotify to train my ear and get used to it. Surprisingly, I found that I enjoyed tonight's performance. I especially liked the dramatic culmination at the end of the 3rd movement and the final movement of the symphony (20-30 male / RPS CCB April 2023).

It is noteworthy that the respondent highlights the climactic moments in the performance as the most enjoyable aspects. These climaxes served as markers of the overall experience,

acting as reference points that enabled the listener to navigate through the listening journey of this complex musical composition.

The decision to attend large symphonic works requires not just a general training of the ear, but also familiarity with specific musical compositions. Often, concertgoers choose to attend because they wish to hear their favorite symphony or oratorio. They peruse the programs of concert halls, and upon finding something that aligns with their preferences, they purchase tickets. Occasionally, this may involve less common and not always popular compositions, for example, Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*:

> I'm very fond of this particular Mass. When I saw the program for the whole season, I specifically chose this concert. For many years I bought tickets for three or four concerts a year. Now that I'm more discerning, I tend to listen to pieces that I am familiar with. I particularly enjoy choral and orchestral performances (40-50 y.o. female / RPS FCG March 2023).

Undoubtedly, the sight of a large number of performers on a single stage, seamlessly merging into a unified musical entity under the conductor's guidance, is captivating. "It is no wonder that a symphony concert is such a pleasurable ritual, at least for some" (Small 1998, p. 86). The grandeur and beauty of such a spectacle accompanying the performance of orchestral music always evoke a sense of the extraordinary nature of the event. This is attributed to both the concert rituals, as discussed in Chapter 5, and the venue itself, which can accommodate such a sizable musical group. Additionally, the powerful emotional impact raised by such a performance contributes to its significance: "During powerful crescendos, you can visually see where the music is heading and how the musicians collectively contribute to its impact. This brings together all my knowledge and memories, and I have great respect for the process" (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

As previously discussed, knowledge and memories constitute an integral aspect of the embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). These elements can be perceived as cultural resources that audience members internalize within their bodies, manifesting through their listening practices. In the context of symphony concerts, music listening practices involve a repeated process of engaging with and appropriating music. The audience interacts with the aesthetic dimension of music, appreciating its beauty and the communication of ideas and emotions. This experience celebrates music as an esteemed art form, valued by composers, performers, audiences, critics, and musicologists. At symphony concerts, it is essential to view

the experience not merely as an auditory one but as an event deeply rooted in a specific cultural and temporal context, involving a unique community of individuals, Small explains:

> A symphony concert, as an important ritual of the power-holding class in our society, shows the modern westerner to be as much dependent on, and, to the extent that he suppresses any awareness of them, bound by his mythologies as any member of a traditional society (1987, pp. 7-8).

Orchestral performances facilitate what is often described by the informants as a detachment from the external world. The very mythology surrounding classical music – with its revered composers and their musical legacies – contributes significantly to this phenomenon. Engaging with this kind of musical experience often leads the modern listener to disconnect from the realities of everyday life. This transition to an alternate state alters the listener's perception, immersing them in a moment that feels ephemeral and transcendent. It is not always a singular emotion, but frequently a blend of feelings and states that transport individuals beyond their usual comprehension, often in contrast to the mechanized routines of daily life:

> One thing I particularly enjoy at classical music concerts is long symphonies in different styles, as they provide a contrast to my fast-paced life. It can be a mixture of emotions, from falling asleep to feeling bored or excited, and I appreciate the chaos and unpredictability of live performances. I don't always analyze the music during a concert, as I prefer to take me wherever it leads without imposing my interpretations (20-30 y.o. male / LSI October 2022).

The conductor holds a significant position in symphony concerts, often commanding the audience's attention as the one directing the musical creation process. Beyond merely coordinating the orchestra and shaping interpretations, the conductor embodies a heroic figure in the imagination of the audience. Seen as a trusted leader, the conductor is perceived as guiding both the orchestra and listeners through the intricate tensions and conflicts within the symphonic work, ultimately guiding them to a satisfying resolution – much like a priest in a ritual who conducts prayers and acts as a guiding figure. This role underscores the conductor's role in shaping the overall musical experience, as described by one listener:

> I had the opportunity to attend [Stanislav] Kochanovsky's concert. It seems that I was fascinated by the music itself, rather than focusing solely on the conductor. Kochanovsky's conducting style struck me as elegant, precise, and delicate. The interaction between

conductor and orchestra created a dialogue that resonated with me (30-40 y.o. female / LSI November 2022).

Thus, being on opposite sides, the orchestra and the audience are subordinated to the conductor's will – and perform the same work, with the only difference being that one ensemble generates the performance and the other – equally formalized – generates the listening. The conductor symbolizes power and represents the aspiration to resolve conflicts decisively. This raises the question: does the music come first, or does the performer? To what extent do people attend concerts not just because of the program, but because of the conductor and soloists?

6.3. Performance Interpretations and Evaluations

The effect of presence plays a special role in shaping the aesthetic experience of listening to classical music in public venues. It implies the creation of a shared social space, where individuals feel part of a collective audience experiencing a unique event together. This sense of presence becomes a central element in immersing listeners into the musical environment, transforming the concert hall into a living space of musical experience. While the experience of listening to music is often challenging to articulate verbally, as music exists solely within the realm of temporality, devoid of implicit meanings or emotions (Jankélévich 2003). Concertgoers frequently liken it to an escape from reality, transporting them into imaginary worlds. This act of transcendence serves as a vital source of pleasure for those engaged in the musical performance.

6.3.1. Concert expectations: The effect of presence

There is ongoing research on why individuals derive pleasure from attending live concerts despite the accessibility and cost-effectiveness of experiencing the same music at home. This fascination with live concerts can be attributed to specific expectations associated with such events, which include two fundamental dimensions: the communal sharing of the experience within a group setting and the live elements, "including connecting with the artists and experiencing the potential for spontaneity and unpredictability of live music as it unfolds over time" (Swarbrick et al. 2019, p. 7). This contrasts with the static and predetermined nature of recorded versions that fans may become accustomed to through repeated listening. While the

social sharing aspects have been examined in Chapter 4, it is imperative to acknowledge that the live music elements cannot be fully comprehended without considering the dynamics of concerts, which evoke a sense of presence for every listener.

It would be inaccurate to assume that unpredictability is absent or negligible in a classical concert. Every live musical performance inherently carries a degree of uniqueness due to the unfolding musical event in the present moment. Musically speaking, each event offers a distinct perceptual experience where social, environmental, and aesthetic factors converge uniquely for that occasion. Moreover, these factors are customized differently for each listener based on their individual experiences and expectations:

> The performance situation, the institutional framework, and the organizational apparatus and its processes and routines, as well as the institutional character, the habitus created by the institution, the architecture, the organizational culture, and the social structure created by those present, cannot be thought of separately. The concert, with all its components, is part of the interpretation (Tröndle 2021, p. 24).

The effect of presence holds significant importance within the realm of aesthetic experience, particularly concerning live musical performances. It is linked to the tangible materiality of live music, allowing listeners to actively engage with the emergence of sound space and derive meaning from it. The value of this sense of presence becomes evident through the reactions of concert attendees:

> What I truly appreciate when attending concerts in public spaces is the atmosphere and the reaction of the audience. There is a unique energy when experiencing music live when the sound reaches our ears and bodies directly, and I am often captivated by the vibrations I can feel (50-60 y.o. female / RPS CCB June 2023).

At classical concerts, the effect of presence is manifested through the event-like and experiential character of these performances, which encourage a direct and physical engagement with the music. It focuses on the corporeality of listening and the bodily-felt resonances of the music, and as articulates Matthias Rebstock, the junior professor of scenic music at the University of Hildesheim (Germany), “they enhance audience participation with the aim of increasing the audience’s scope for relating to the music” (2021, pp. 138-139).

Undoubtedly, the effect of presence materializes within a collective of listeners, elevating the act of concert music listening into a distinctive and communal experience. When questioned

about their expectations before attending a concert, respondents frequently express a conscious desire to immerse themselves in the music alongside others, emphasizing the significance of shared listening. This anticipation of collective engagement is a hallmark of classical concerts. It is primarily shaped by the understanding that each listener does not perceive a musical performance solely on an individual basis. Rather, every performance by an orchestra or soloist is intended for an audience, fostering an environment where aesthetic experiences are cultivated through the shared enjoyment of being in the same space with numerous individuals with similar values and musical preferences. This sentiment echoes Bourdieu's definition of "art lovers." Analyzing the social conditions of museum practice, he shows that cultural taste is not innate but is inculcated by society. This taste is unevenly distributed, allowing some people to distinguish themselves through their love of art, while others are deprived of this opportunity (Bourdieu et al. 1997). The notional division of listeners into those who can "pick mushrooms" while hearing and those who truly love music is demonstrated in the following comment from an experienced and musically well-trained concert attendee:

> People don't go to concerts to pick mushrooms. I attend with certain expectations and appreciate the sense of community and live sound. I never feel that the pianist or orchestra is playing just for me, but there is a sense of belonging to a community of music lovers (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

The shared space of collective listening prompts individuals to cultivate their own personalized experiences of pleasure. However, this dynamic presents a certain paradox – while collective listening is aimed at developing a shared experience, it ultimately leads each listener to seek individual fulfillment. The pleasure derived from being part of the collective is inseparable from the enjoyment of the music itself. In this sense, its specific properties of music "contribute to the shape and quality of feeling to the extent that feeling […] must be established on a public or intersubjective plane," highlights Tia DeNora (2004, p. 74). Consequently, listeners must navigate a delicate balance between various sensations: their role as a member of the community and as an individual observer, the physical proximity to performers, the immediacy of the live performance, direct engagement without intermediary barriers, the sense of connection with performers, and the interaction with fellow audience members, as it suggested by the British scholar of media studies and cultural studies Martin Barker (2013).

This listening practice is often manifested through specific techniques aimed at generating a personalized approach, such as the allocation of attention or the endeavor to establish a unique connection with the musical performance:

> Attending a concert is my way of enjoying my free time, allowing myself to relax and immerse myself in the music. I don't put excessive expectations on myself to stay completely focused throughout the performance, because it's simply not possible. However, I embrace the mood and find joy in experiencing the music. I try to establish a connection with the music rather than imposing strict conditions on myself (30-40 y.o. female / LSI June 2022).

The impact of the presence effect can be profound, occasionally overwhelming listeners and making it challenging for them to maintain an individualized approach to music. Consequently, it is not uncommon for audience members in concert halls to close their eyes – an attempt to construct a personalized perception of the music while still being part of a collective listening experience but minimizing visual stimuli. Interestingly, this behavior persists despite the initial intent of attendees to avoid solitary music listening experiences by attending concerts in the first place:

> Sometimes I prefer to close my eyes and completely immerse myself in the music, and sometimes I like to watch it being created. Although it can be difficult to put my emotions into words, I just feel and try to understand the depth of my emotional response to the music (20-30 y.o. female / RPS CCB February 2023).

Listening to music covers a spectrum of approaches: from observing the unfolding musical narrative with eyes open or closed, to introspectively recording one's inner emotional responses evoked by the sounds of instruments. At times, listeners may even become self-reflected, contemplating the reasons behind their current emotional state. Nevertheless, the essence of the sonic medium in classical music remains supreme, characterized by its sonic materiality, communal experience, and tangible presence.

6.3.2. Generating the sense of involvement

The challenge of expressing emotional responses or understanding the impact of musical sounds is a frequent obstacle for listeners. This problem is particularly notable when examining

the mechanisms that promote engagement in the listening experience and considering why audiences are drawn to music and what makes this engagement so essential and incomparable. How is it possible to navigate discussions about involvement in musical listening when each encounter is distinct, limited by the finite duration of the performance, yet imbued with a profundity that touches on existential aspects, rendering it unimaginable to repeat?

Rather than articulating their reactions verbally, individuals often find themselves deeply immersed emotionally in the experience of music, sometimes to the point "where the psychic boundary between the mundane and the supernatural worlds breaks down so that they leave behind their everyday identity and become […] possessed" (Small 1998, p. 96). Describing the experience of musical immersion can be questionable, often necessitating the use of metaphors or comparisons from everyday life when language is lacking. This linguistic difficulty in defining a musical event is understandable and consistent with the notion that music defies precise definition through language (Lévi-Strauss 1981; Jankélévich 2003). Therefore, it becomes imperative to turn to the descriptions provided by the listeners themselves to better understand this phenomenon.

The ecological perspective on music listening suggests that in a traditional concert environment, where there is limited opportunity for physical exploration and interaction with the surroundings, listeners may either experience boredom and detachment or move into a distinct form of awareness when "enforced passivity engenders aesthetic contemplation, within which a kind of sublimated and internalized exploration can go on" (Clarke 2005, p. 138). This heightened awareness is as a typical way of music engagement, articulated by a concert attendee in the following comment: "Classical music, in particular, fascinates me because it demands my attention and allows me to distract myself for a moment from exceptionally focused thoughts. This is one of the reasons why I value live performances so much" (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

For numerous respondents, the act of listening to music in a concert setting evokes a sense of mystique that eludes verbal expression. It represents an entirely separate realm, often perceived as opposed to everyday reality. Immersion in music signifies a form of escapism, wherein individuals create their own world, one that holds greater significance and value than their everyday surroundings. This connection to something mysterious and perhaps even transcendent serves not only as a result of the listening experience but occasionally as the driving force behind the desire to revisit classical music repeatedly.

> After a concert, I prefer to be alone and reflect on my emotions rather than share them with others. It is often difficult for me to express my feelings about a concert. I can only say that it was something significant or even mystical. It felt like a door had been opened to something deep and important in my life. This experience fuels my desire to continue listening to music (30-40 y.o. female / LSI March 2023).

Intriguingly, some listeners draw parallels between their personal experiences of listening to classical music and religious practices, particularly in terms of emotional resonance. Rather than directly comparing their experiences to specific religious rituals, they often emphasize the shared sense of spiritual devotion essential for the collective act of being present together in a shared space. Moreover, the act of perception is frequently likened to meditation, wherein individuals engage in a personalized journey of mental immersion. At the same time, this experience is also a collective meditation, akin to attending a church service, where the shared environment and communal participation enhance the depth of the experience.

Unsurprisingly, Bourdieu argues that music holds a unique position among the arts as it is often seen as the most spiritual or refined form of artistic expression. A preference for music is considered a marker of "spirituality," suggesting a capacity for cultural appreciation and sensitivity. He suggests that in a bourgeois society, the absence of music appreciation may be seen as "a particularly unavowable form of materialistic coarseness" (1984, p. 19).

Meditation, with its emphasis on entering a specific mental state characterized by both relaxation and heightened awareness, offers an analogy for describing the personalized experience of musical perception. Just as meditation concerns a duality of rest and inner focus, listeners similarly find themselves in a dual state of bodily detachment and internal reflection as they seek to derive meaning from the music. It is noteworthy that even if the respondent has not engaged in meditation as a spiritual practice, this association is the first that comes to mind. Transitioning from meditation, the respondent further describes the process as a means of "recharging energy," offering another example of drawing upon spiritual practices to articulate the impact of musical engagement:

> When listening to music, I feel that I am transported to another realm. I detach myself from physical space and enter a sublime, serene, and elevated state. It feels like a different rhythm of life, and even after the concert, I continue to reflect on it. I would compare it to meditation, although I've never practiced it. It's a way of recharging my energy (20-30 y.o. male / IDI January 2022).

The depth of meditative immersion in music can vary significantly. Another respondent described their listening experience as entering a trance-like semi-consciousness condition, highlighting the profound mental state and its connection to music listening. This notion draws upon examples from cultures, where music serves as a gateway to trance. In the Bali case examined by Judith Becker, "[a] musical emotion for the trancer […] is public, situational, predictable, and culturally sanctioned" (2004, p. 142).

In the context of a concert, trance is often referenced when an individual becomes so absorbed in the music that they lose touch with reality, perhaps forgetting to applaud or being rendered speechless. This intense experience underscores the transformative power of music, achievable through complete immersion and influenced by various factors such as the timing and setting of the concert, the repertoire, and the performer, as well as the listener's personal history intertwined with specific musical compositions:

> One of the most vivid experiences is when you are so overwhelmed by the music, the unity of the orchestra, and the overall performance that you are speechless and unable to applaud. It's like falling into a trance, and it's not easy to come out of it. When I attended Grigory Sokolov's concert, I felt like a witness to a revelation. I returned home and started listening to his recordings a lot, especially his version of the *Moonlight* Sonata (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

Engaging in the creation and consumption of music involves a multifaceted process that includes quiet introspection or dynamic expressions like preaching, dancing, or reciting mantras. As a primary objective of music development is continual self-creation, music, emotions, and various creative aspects can be conceptualized, as "bringing forth a world, a reality where in which certain emotions and reactions are expected and appropriate" (Becker 2004, p. 149). In this collective reality, shaped by the contributions of all participants, the created reality is experienced and realized by everyone involved.

6.3.3. Listening enjoyment trajectories

What can be identified as a factor shaping the pleasure derived from listening to classical music is not solely focused on generating enjoyable emotions, but also on fulfilling certain aesthetic needs. Ultimately, this touches upon the broader significance of art and its role within contemporary society. Art can be perceived as a distinct realm of experience governed by its

principles and constraints. Regarding the ritualization of concerts, it primarily serves to eliminate any potential acoustic disruptions during musical performances and to minimize distractions, thereby prioritizing sonic pleasure above all else. Consequently, the imperative for "sound uncontaminated by ambient noise seems to be the prerequisite and requirement for musical enjoyment in the concert hall" (Seibert et al. 2021, p. 354), leading the audience to impose self-restraint to ensure minimal interference.

It is important to recognize that aesthetic pleasure is not the sole determinant of music enjoyment during public concerts. It has been revealed that listeners' emotional involvement with the performance significantly influences their overall enjoyment, surpassing the perceived quality of the performance as a predictor. This psychological finding implies that "in the domain of live musical performance at least, affective and evaluative responses may not necessarily stand in a linear relationship to one another" (Thompson 2007, p. 21), meaning that the enjoyment of the entire event is derived not only from the aesthetic aspects but also from additional sources of pleasure that arise during the event.

The pleasure of attending a concert hall is often characterized by a blend of the familiar and the quest for novelty. The familiar aspects are typically made up of social and spatial elements while pursuing the new pertains to aesthetic perspectives tied to the experience of perception. Factors such as the venue, environmental conditions, fellow audience members, and the musicians themselves all contribute to the audience's enjoyment and immersion in the performance. Therefore, the additional dimensions "associated with a live performance must also form an important part of the individual's impression of the event, and might arguably contribute to richer, more meaningful, memories" (Burland and Pitts 2014, p. 123).

The enjoyment of a piece of music often hinges on the perception of its structure. However, since the full structure of a musical piece is typically apprehended only after its performance, the pleasure derived from it tends to manifest gradually. Nevertheless, Mozart famously expressed delight when his Parisian audience enthusiastically appreciated his symphony during the performance rather than waiting until its conclusion. "If enjoyment is not present from the first moment, then there is not much point in listening" (Small 1998, p. 163). This sentiment is supported by the following comment, underscoring the notion that immersion in music begins at the start and the pleasure derived from it unfolds throughout the performance:

> We enjoy music in different ways. Sometimes we find ourselves immersed in our thoughts and lose track of the present moment. This is a natural and necessary part of the experience. When I really connect with music, I go into this mode where I'm immersed in myself and temporarily detached from the world around me. Music is abstract and cannot be described in words, but it takes us to different places. I engage with the emotions it evokes and reflect on its meaning to my life (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

The unique temporality of music stands as one of the principal factors in the enjoyment it offers, distinguishing it from non-performative arts. This temporal dimension enables listeners to be transported to alternate realms, to craft their narratives, and to experience a range of emotions in synchrony with the musical performance. Here music can serve as a container for the "temporal structure of past circumstances," to the extent that, "[…] musical structures may provide a grid or grammar for the temporal structures of emotional and embodied patterns as they were originally experienced" (DeNora 2014, pp. 67-68). Interestingly, participants in concerts often highlight this aspect of traversing space and time through sound, across diverse interpretations, as a distinct pleasure that is uniquely realized in public performances:

> Eventually, what captures me during a concert is the curiosity to see where the piece will lead and what the performer will do with it. That is the essence of my enjoyment. Whether I'm familiar with the piece or not, understanding the performer's motive or intentions keeps me engaged (18-25 y.o. male / IDI April 2023).

Pleasure in listening to music is not solely a matter of need but also a cultivated skill: enjoying it goes beyond just a natural desire or need. This underlying theme, evident throughout this thesis, proves especially significant in understanding the enjoyment generated from music. It encompasses various skills that comprehend the social, spatial, and aesthetic dimensions discussed earlier, all of which are directed toward heightening the pleasure of listening: "Enjoying a concert is a pleasure that you must cultivate in yourself. It's important to listen to music at home and make it a habit. However, it's crucial to attend high-quality concerts" (40-50 y.o. female / IDI February 2022).

The cultivation of these skills is essential for maximizing the anticipated enjoyment of classical music concerts. With each new concert attended, these skills are further honed and expanded upon. Concert experiences themselves are dynamic, with the introduction of new performers, venues, and evolving expectations for listening and enjoyment. Ultimately, this

lifelong commitment to refining one's listening techniques unlocks new realms of perception and pleasure inherent in music, transcending any limitations.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the application of body techniques in the study of music listening, specifically focusing on classical music. This research is centered on concert venues in Lisbon where musicians perform across various settings. Methodologically, the study adopts an approach that shifts the traditional emphasis within the music domain from performers to listeners, placing significant emphasis on the audience's experience at classical music concerts. The study examines the practices of listening to classical music in Lisbon through three primary dimensions: social, environmental, and aesthetic. These dimensions present the diverse listening techniques employed by concert attendees, influenced by the factors analyzed in each respective chapter. The findings derived from this analysis are summarized below.

7.1. Key Findings

The results of the research pertain to the specific context of concert culture in Lisbon. The city's concert programs exhibit a notable lack of diversity, characterized by a relatively small number of performing groups, many of which operate under limited state funding. Repertoire policies are often shaped by private foundations and associations, exerting significant influence over public musical preferences. This influence extends not only to orchestras but also to chamber ensembles specializing in antique and Baroque music.

The expansion of music education plays a crucial role in exposing diverse populations to classical music; however, this form of cultural participation remains constrained by various factors, including the absence of music instruction in secondary schools (Veloso 2018). Central to public music education is the principle of equal access for all citizens, regardless of social background, with public music schools serving as key institutions aimed at fostering inclusion. Despite this, music education in Portugal remains unequal and occupies a peripheral position in the curriculum (Vieira 2021). While public conservatories provide a more affordable route

to musical training, their competitive admissions processes and limited availability exclude many individuals, leaving them to rely on costly private institutions or individualized lessons. Thus, music education is often limited to activities within classical music venues, and radio programs like *Antena 2*, which also cover arts, literature, and other topics, only partially address this issue.

Despite these local variations, the broader findings of this research suggest that the public uses specific techniques to engage with music in public settings, supporting the hypothesis of the thesis. Thus, by examining body techniques, it has been possible to analyze the ways in which individuals physically and mentally engage with music, reflecting their cultural background and social interactions. It underscores the idea that the ability to perceive and appreciate music is not only an innate biological capacity but also a skill refined by social practices and cultural learning.

As it has been demonstrated in Chapter 4, the audience of classical music concerts in Lisbon displays intriguing patterns concerning its social structure and dedication to attending specific venues. This commitment is heavily influenced by the mobilization resources individuals are willing to invest in their musical experiences. Concert spaces with listeners exercising less accessible resources tend to present a more diverse audience composition. For example, the audience of the FCG orchestra is relatively homogeneous, comprised mainly of regular attendees. In contrast, the audience of the OML is more heterogeneous, encompassing a broader spectrum of members from diverse backgrounds.

An undeniable characteristic among concertgoers is their profound connection to classical music, with casual attendees being relatively rare. This connection often forms part of the cultural capital that listeners have either inherited or cultivated. The musical backgrounds of listeners significantly shape their social identity related to musical preferences, as exemplified by the audience in Lisbon. The clearer the audience's display of the cultural capital, the more stringent they are in defining their musical tastes, which they expect to be reflected in the repertoire of orchestras and individual performers. For instance, the FCG orchestra upholds this expectation by frequently presenting canonical musical works and inviting renowned figures from the music scene, thereby catering to the audience's rigorous standards of musical taste preservation. In contrast, the OML does not prioritize meeting socially prescribed levels of audience preparedness. Its concerts are designed for a more diverse audience with varied

musical preferences, who often attend for leisure and education rather than to assert their social status.

This distinction becomes particularly apparent when considering contemporary music and Portuguese national music. The audience of the FCG favors strict adherence to the finest examples of the Western European musical repertoire, sometimes excluding even contemporary classical music pieces that perpetuate this taste. This “freezing of the repertoire” refers to the enduring tradition of performing canonical works that are well-known to the audience and have stood the test of time, which results in honoring and celebrating the “sacred history” of Western civilization. In contrast, the OML frequently includes works by Portuguese composers in its concerts, reflecting a more “democratic” approach that resonates with its diverse audience. It aligns with a broader and inclusive audience base of the OML, which values diverse musical experiences.

Attracting audiences also involves the pricing strategies of orchestras. In Lisbon, ticket prices play a crucial role for many attendees in determining which concerts they attend. However, beyond pricing alone, audience members often need to plan to secure tickets for FCG concerts, which frequently sell out quickly even before the start of the concert season. This high demand for tickets indicates a growing audience with substantial resources and includes a significant number of newcomers with backgrounds that nurture a strong interest in classical music. This dynamic shows how both financial factors and the necessity for early planning shape attendance patterns at concerts in Lisbon.

The study has revealed that the motivations for attending concerts generally overlap and encompass a wide range of reasons. These motivations vary from a broad interest in experiencing live music to more specific intentions, such as attending piano recitals because of personal involvement with the instrument or supporting a family member performing in an orchestra which is commonly observed at concerts of the JOP, for instance. Extramusical factors also significantly influence attendance, even among the more conservative audience of the FCG. For them, the socialization aspect linked to the rituals of the elite holds considerable relevance. This suggests that attending concerts is not solely about the musical performance itself but also about the social interactions and status associated with being part of a particular audience.

All these findings suggest distinct modes of collective listening that manifest through the social practices of classical concert audiences in Lisbon. The thesis explores various techniques demonstrating that public concert venues force listeners to follow certain expectations and norms that govern their behavior, facilitating their integration into the collective listening experience. Moreover, the segmentation of classical concert audiences in Lisbon is primarily influenced not by age but by the presence of techniques that enable individuals to adjust to their surroundings and feel more secure in the public setting. This underscores the significance of social and behavioral adaptations in shaping the concert experience, ensuring that listeners can effectively engage with both the music and the social dynamics of the concert space.

Among these techniques, several are notable: discerning between different types of concerts – daytime versus evening performances, those featuring popular classical programs versus more sophisticated ones, concerts showcasing local artists versus invited stars, and events held in dedicated concert venues versus unconventional locations not originally designed for public performances. These distinctions enable listeners to navigate and adapt to specific concert contexts, aligning with the expectations and behavioral norms of diverse audiences. While the primary motivation for attending concerts is the experience of live sound, the deeply ritualized practices of listening within a community of like-minded individuals transform this experience into a social interaction. Although, listeners clearly distinguish between two types of experiences: socializing within the concert space and uniting with a collective of listeners during the musical performance. The latter remains the central motive for attending concerts, underscoring the significance of shared musical experiences.

One of the challenges faced by listeners with less cultural capital is the pressure to conform to the expectations set by the elite audience that predominantly attends venues like the FCG. Overcoming this discomfort often involves employing various techniques, such as attending concerts with friends, which helps ease navigation of the social environment. Inside the concert hall, differences in social identities tend to diminish if attendees accept the established behavioral norms. These norms include, for example, knowing when it is appropriate to applaud or exit the concert hall. Musical performance thus initiates a transformation in the listener's subjectivity, requiring a shift from everyday social behaviors to those appropriate for the concert setting. This process contributes to the formation of a collective body of listeners who are unified by their shared experience and subordinate to the unfolding musical event.

One crucial technique for integrating into the collective body of listeners is not only the ability to adapt to a community of like-minded individuals but also to entrust one's individual listening and enjoyment of the performance to this collective entity. Interestingly, strong social connections among audience members do not always ensure the formation of a cohesive listening organism in the concert hall. This phenomenon is notably observed in the contexts of the OML, as well as the OCP.

The study has highlighted that audiences attending OML or OCP concerts are notably more interconnected compared to those at FCG concerts. Active socializing is a common occurrence before and after OML and OCP concerts, often involving audience members who have personal connections to the performers, adding a familial dimension to these events. The atmosphere at these concerts extends beyond the mere musical experience, characterized by a relatively relaxed adherence to concert rituals, popular program choices, and free seating arrangements in the hall. In contrast, attendance at FCG concerts is strictly regulated, lacking community membership. This environment encourages attendees to dissociate from their individualities within the concert space and concentrate solely on the musical performance. As a result, many attendees express regret that, despite years of attending concerts at the FCG, they have not experienced a sense of unity with fellow listeners in terms of extramusical communication.

Chapter 5 of the dissertation has explored the influence of concert hall spaces on the perception of classical music. This examination includes not only the interior spaces where the music is heard but also the architectural characteristics of the buildings housing these concerts. The external architecture of venues like the FCG or the CCB holds minimal appeal for listeners. Instead, it is the internal architectural uniqueness and design of the concert halls that significantly shape the music event experience. Listeners often express a preference for the FCG due to its symbolic significance, bolstered by meticulously curated programs and high-caliber performances. This preference stems in part from the heightened symbolic value attributed to the FCG compared to venues like the CCB, which are designed to accommodate a broader range of performance types. The architectural and programmatic features of the FCG collectively contribute to its esteemed status among concertgoers.

Interestingly, a contrasting dynamic is observed in museum spaces and churches, venues that often host concerts despite their original purposes. These locations exert a profound influence on the musical experience, leveraging their richly decorated interiors to enhance listener engagement with history and cultural significance. In museums, this engagement

unfolds through cultural experiences, where the architectural and historical context enriches the music performed within. Similarly, in churches, the music resonates within the context of religious experiences, drawing on the spiritual ambiance and cultural heritage of the space. This contextual richness amplifies the overall impact of the music, offering audiences a deeper and more immersive listening experience.

The foyer space plays a pivotal role in shaping listening techniques by acting as a transitional zone where each concert attendee transitions into the role of a listener and a member of the audience. This area holds significant social and ritual importance as it functions as a shift from the everyday world to the concert environment. In the foyer, various preparatory activities occur such as meeting fellow audience members, obtaining the concert program, and visiting the buffet. These activities collectively contribute to the formation of a unified body of listeners. This process is particularly pronounced at the FCG, where there is a strong sense of communal listening among attendees. In contrast, at the CCB, this cohesion among the audience is less pronounced.

The concert hall historically means a space where listening practices are cultivated in a bodily-shaped sense. An example of this tradition is the observance of dress codes at classical music concerts. While this topic may not be highly pertinent to contemporary concert realities in Lisbon, it warrants some observations. Nowadays, most attendees determine their attire based on factors such as the concert's schedule, venue, and the performer. The orientation of the concert hall towards classical music influences attitudes towards dress codes: the less exclusively classical the programming, the more relaxed the approach to dress tends to be, and vice versa. The dress code often serves as a form of conformity, signaling the audience's appreciation of the significance of the musical event – an additional aspect of their engagement with the music in the hall.

The thesis has undertaken a detailed examination of concert venues in Lisbon where classical music listening occurs, focusing on their impact on the development of listening practices. This analysis pursues two primary lines of inquiry: the investigation of concert hall architecture and acoustic design, and the significance of spatial choice based on acoustic considerations. The findings reveal that larger concert halls tend to emphasize the formation of a collective listening experience, where deviations from social norms are more conspicuous. Consequently, audiences often prefer attending concerts in smaller chamber settings where they feel less exposed to public scrutiny. Conversely, the more relaxed atmosphere of smaller venues

may not always foster the collective engagement necessary for an enriched audience experience. Factors contributing to this include the maintained lighting and the freedom for audiences to choose seats and engage in activities such as reading programs or even taking a nap without fear of judgment from others.

However, the significance of certain spaces, such as the halls of historical libraries or museums, continues to be a compelling reason for attending concerts, representing a distinct listening practice that can be determined as authentic space listening. Many listeners favor experiencing chamber music in the intimate venues for which it was originally composed. Likewise, sacred music often resonates profoundly when performed in churches. This approach underscores how the listening experience is intricately tied to both the specific characteristics of the venue and the nature of the concert program itself.

Regarding visual collaboration with musicians and the accessibility of performers, this topic frequently contrasts with the issue of auditory experience during performances. The common practice of purchasing tickets closer to the stage does not always ensure optimal acoustic quality in those locations. Audiences often prioritize non-acoustic considerations such as the prestige of the seat or the opportunity to see performers, thereby adding another layer to their musical experience. Typically, listeners seek a balance between visual and auditory elements, influenced by factors including ticket prices, availability, acoustic conditions, and the visual perspectives offered by different venues.

The concert space serves as the arena where, according to the dissertation's results, the act of witnessing a live performance unfolds, including considerations of sound and lighting within this context. The distinct sound environment during performances, maintained by the audience's expectation of complete silence, presents a persistent challenge even in rigorously regulated venues like the FCG, where concert etiquette is widely understood except in cases of free concerts. The most common breach of this etiquette involves premature applause, which readily identifies an unskilled listener among the audience. Generally, the stricter adherence to etiquette correlates with the conservatism of the audience or the significance of the musical event. These observations underscore the audience's adaptability and their training in protocols to avoid breaking these rules, which are overwhelmingly accepted without question as a crucial condition for concert attendance.

Lighting unquestionably governs concert etiquette by directing attention towards the performers, as only the stage is illuminated. Simultaneously, the presence of bright stage lights facilitates visual engagement between the audience and the performers: during symphony concerts, listeners typically prefer a panoramic view of the entire orchestra while still being able to discern individual musicians and the conductor. In this scenario, techniques of listening also involve strategic positioning within the concert hall: maintaining visual focus while being integrated into the collective listening body, which itself is a significant motivator for attending concerts. In chamber music concerts, visual collaboration is more straightforward due to the intimate size of the venues and the proximity to the musicians. This ease of visual connection partly explains why some listeners find it challenging to fully engage with the collective auditory experience of a performance.

The research has conducted a separate examination of outdoor performances, focusing on the case study of MFL concerts. It demonstrates how the acoustic characteristics of spaces, such as technically mediated sound, may not attract classical music enthusiasts. At the same time, outdoor concerts foster unique listening communities within the context of festival culture. For many concertgoers, the ambiance of these events – their festive nature – is particularly significant. As a result, the audience for outdoor concerts is diverse, with attendees employing a variety of listening techniques ranging from committed engagement to casual interest sparked by spontaneous curiosity. Classical music, when presented in unconventional settings outside its traditional space, acquires new meanings and becomes part of the urban musical landscape. Here, it intersects with street music culture, attracting a broad spectrum of listeners and encouraging unconventional practices fueled by creativity and imagination.

Chapter 6 of the thesis has centered on the aesthetic experience of listening to classical music during public concerts in Lisbon. The chapter explores techniques used to prepare audiences for these musical experiences. Within the aesthetic framework, listeners divide music into familiar and unfamiliar categories. The concert experience often hinges on the listener's prior familiarity with the repertoire, influencing their enjoyment in distinct ways: either through the pleasure derived from pieces they have previously heard or the discovery of new compositions, which can also be highly satisfying. One prevalent listening technique involves concert programs that blend familiar pieces with unfamiliar ones. This approach serves multiple purposes: providing enjoyment through the familiar while introducing new musical works for

exploration and appreciation. Inexperienced listeners typically gravitate towards familiar pieces due to their comfort and ease of adaptation to the musical material.

Skilled listeners frequently use their familiarity with a piece, gained from repeated exposure through recordings, to compare interpretations during live concert performances. In doing so, they overlay their prior experiences with the distinctiveness of the concert event itself, appreciating the surprise of encountering new interpretations of the musical text. Referring to recordings can establish a set of expectations that live performances should meet. Overcoming these preconceived expectations becomes a significant listening technique. Attendees actively engage in the process of evaluating how live performances diverge from or enhance their perceptions formed through recordings, thereby enriching their overall musical experience.

Listening to the music prepared for a concert beforehand, a phenomenon analyzed in the dissertation as media framing, is a significant technique employed diversely among different categories of listeners. Primarily, it offers an opportunity to prepare by updating impressions and solidifying them through live performance, particularly regarding large symphonic works from the late 19th and 20th centuries. For novices, this technique serves to acquire essential musical knowledge, enabling them to feel more confident among seasoned attendees – for instance, reacting appropriately to the conclusion of movements and the entire piece. It is not uncommon for listeners to feel a shared responsibility with the musicians in preparing for a concert, engaging actively in the experience by following the musical score, albeit in a listening role. This type of listener defines a successful performance as a collective journey through the music, achieving a shared profound engagement with the musical text.

Another significant technique for preparing for a concert is priming, which involves acquiring supplementary information related to the music to be performed. This can take various forms such as printed booklets, preparatory lectures, or real-time information displays during the performance, such as indicating movements in a symphony or displaying titles of individual pieces on screens. However, not all listeners endorse such interventions to their listening experience. While some find this information useful for strengthening their understanding and enjoyment, others believe their own experience suffices without external aids and prefer not to be distracted by screens or additional materials during the concert. This diversity in preference underscores the varied ways listeners engage with and prepare for their concert experiences according to their prior experience.

Regarding the formation of aesthetic experiences across different concert genres, the thesis has investigated three primary types: recitals, chamber concerts, and choral and symphonic concerts. In recitals, it is typical for the aesthetic experience to engage the audience in constructing a musical experience that demands heightened attention, concentration, and a broad spectrum of knowledge, ranging from understanding performance styles to familiarity with the repertoire being presented. Audience members often feel compelled to visually engage with performers' gestures to fully grasp the nuances of the concert. In recitals, the interaction between performer and audience is particularly intimate, requiring a symbiotic relationship where listeners actively participate in the interpretation and appreciation of the music being performed. This underscores the depth of engagement and active involvement necessary for a meaningful aesthetic experience in this concert format.

In Lisbon, chamber concerts frequently occur in museum or religious spaces, offering a distinctive musical experience often featuring chamber ensembles performing music from the pre-classical era or sacred repertoire. For many attendees, these concerts evoke a sense of journeying through time, enriched by the historical specificity of the venues themselves, as previously mentioned. In such settings, there is a notable emphasis on observing performance techniques, appreciating the cohesion of the ensemble, and discerning the musical communication between performers. This shift highlights how a purely auditory experience transforms into a visual one, where the physical presence and interactions of the musicians contribute significantly to the overall aesthetic encounter.

When considering symphonic and choral music concerts, it is challenging to envision a listener who would willingly sit in a concert hall for an hour or longer, absorbing every movement of a large orchestral work without prior preparation. Thus, a "trained ear" is typically a prerequisite for engaging with such performances. In this context, the aesthetic experience is fundamentally collective. What unfolds on stage often mirrors the spatial arrangement of the audience: orchestral musicians occupy designated seats, akin to how attendees are situated according to their tickets. Their attire, typically understated, aligns with the audience's general tendency towards unassuming dress, reflecting a shared recognition of the event's significance. Central to this collective experience is the conductor, who transcends mere control of the orchestra and interpretation shaping. In the audience's perception, the conductor assumes a heroic role, guiding both musicians and listeners through the musical narrative. Their leadership

is pivotal in achieving a satisfying resolution, which significantly influences how their interpretation is appraised.

The effect of presence plays a crucial role in shaping the aesthetic experience, particularly in the context of live musical performances. It pertains to the tangible materiality of live music, enabling listeners to actively engage with the resultant auditory space and derive significance from it. The effect of presence is evident in listeners' inclination to immerse themselves in the music alongside others, underscoring the value of communal listening experiences. This anticipation is a defining characteristic of classical concerts, where audiences come together with a shared intention to engage deeply with the music being performed.

Classical concerts serve dual purposes: they create a shared space for collective listening while also fostering individual experiences of enjoyment. While collective listening aims to cultivate a shared musical experience among attendees, it simultaneously encourages each listener to seek personal fulfillment. The enjoyment derived from participating in a collective listening experience is intertwined with the individual enjoyment of the music in private – an important listening technique that every concertgoer develops. In essence, attending a concert allows individuals to engage both socially and personally with the music, experiencing its aesthetic dimensions collectively while also finding personal resonance and pleasure in their own unique ways.

Listening to music in a concert setting represents a distinct realm often seen as contrasting with everyday reality. Immersing oneself in music signifies detachment, creating a personal world that holds deeper meaning and value than one's everyday surroundings. This connection to something mysterious, and possibly transcendent, emerges not solely from the act of listening itself, but also functions as a compelling force that motivates individuals to repeatedly return to classical music. In this context, the concert experience offers a space where listeners can temporarily transcend their daily lives, entering a heightened state of engagement with the music. This sense of immersion fosters a profound emotional and intellectual connection, prompting listeners to reconnect with these transcendent moments and explore deeper dimensions of musical expression and interpretation.

The research has identified parallels between the secular experience of listening to classical music and religious practices, particularly in terms of emotional resonance. This similarity arises from the shared requirement of spiritual devotion during the collective act of

congregating in a shared space. As a result, the emotional engagement of listeners in the performance process is found to profoundly impact their overall enjoyment, often outweighing considerations of performance quality. This emotional involvement suggests that listeners derive deep satisfaction and meaning from the communal experience of attending concerts, akin to the emotional resonance felt in religious gatherings. It underscores how the act of coming together in a concert setting transcends mere auditory enjoyment, evoking a sense of collective emotion and spiritual connection that enriches the aesthetic and personal significance of classical music performances.

The pleasure of attending a concert hall is often characterized by a quest for the combination of familiarity and novelty. Familiar elements typically encompass social interactions and spatial settings, while the pursuit of novelty relates to aesthetic perspectives linked to the perceptual experience. Factors such as the venue, fellow audience members, and the musicians themselves all play crucial roles in shaping the audience's enjoyment and immersion in the performance. Central to this experience is the unique temporality inherent in music. This temporal dimension enables listeners to transcend everyday realities, construct personal narratives, and undergo a range of emotions synchronized with the unfolding musical performance. It allows for a transformative journey where listeners are transported to different emotional and imaginative realms, fostering a profound engagement that enriches the overall concert experience.

Therefore, this dissertation has demonstrated that listening to music involves a specific set of techniques that encompass both bodily and cultural attributes. These characteristics manifest across three dimensions: social, environmental, and aesthetic. Within each dimension, it is crucial to recognize the adaptive nature of listeners, as they strive to conform to established norms of music listening rather than purely indulging personal preferences. On one hand, this technical approach may restrict moments of individual self-expression, aiming instead to foster a cohesive collective listening experience among audiences. On the other hand, it also opens unique perspectives for the musical experience, navigating the boundaries between private and public, internal and external, subjective and communal. The complexity of these techniques offers listeners diverse opportunities to engage with music, ensuring a heightened potential for pleasure and fulfillment. By embracing these techniques, they not only participate in a shared cultural practice but also find avenues for personal enrichment through nuanced interactions with musical performances.

7.2. Implications of the Research Findings

The research findings suggest implications that can be categorized into both practical and theoretical dimensions. Practically, a nuanced understanding of the dynamic nature of public concert listening practices emerges as crucial. This understanding is often overlooked in the programming and organization of concert events. It underscores the significance of considering socialization factors within the concert hall space, targeting both experienced attendees and newcomers. Establishing conducive environments for the formation of cohesive listening communities necessitates creating communication hubs outside the concert hall.

Moreover, fostering an open and informative approach becomes imperative in attracting and retaining new audiences, particularly through digital media channels. Effectively informing potential attendees about concert specifics – such as the intended audience, norms of sound etiquette, and program compositions – plays a pivotal role. Such efforts not only facilitate the individualized listening techniques but also broaden the appeal of classical concerts to diverse demographics. In essence, these practical implications advocate for a holistic approach that acknowledges and addresses the multifaceted aspects of concert attendance, thereby enhancing audience engagement and enriching the overall concert experience.

The theoretical implications of this study, informed by anthropological, sociological, and ecological approaches, offer a novel lens for exploring the experience of music within classical concert settings. By employing this interdisciplinary framework, the study transcends traditional musicological boundaries, advancing toward an anthropological perspective on music. This shift enables an examination of the classical concert audience as a multifaceted constituent characterized by diverse listening techniques and varying degrees of engagement. It invests into the study of a kind of map of listening practices, presented as a set of numerous unique listening trajectories. Each trajectory not only defines an individual's habits in listening to music but also offers a general evaluation of what is referred to as listening to classical music in a concert setting.

The study demonstrates how such an approach facilitates exploration into the social dynamics of concert attendance across different spaces, including venues not originally designed for musical performances. It also delves into how the musical repertoire itself shapes the aesthetic experience of listening. These insights illuminate the complexity of audience behaviors and interactions within concert environments, paving the way for nuanced

investigations into listening practices. This theoretical framework not only enriches the understanding of classical music reception but also broadens the discourse on music appreciation by integrating anthropological perspectives, thereby offering fertile ground for future research in this field.

Finally, methodologically, this study underscores the importance of a long-term relationship with interviews and observations – an anthropological approach. By employing methods such as detailed observations, in-depth interviews with the public, and tracking the same individuals across various settings, the study offers a rich and nuanced understanding of classical music reception, contrasting with inquiries and questionnaires about cultural practices in sociological studies. In other words, using anthropological lenses has made it possible to identify the individual trajectories of music listening for classical concert attendees, compare them with the general dynamics, and gain new insights about how people engage with and experience classical music.

7.3. Directions for Future Research

For future research directions, several topics can be proposed to advance the study of classical concert audiences. Firstly, there is a need to gather data and insights from new and younger audience members. This involves analyzing their experiences, their adaptation to concert spaces, the factors influencing their musical tastes, their perceptions of classical music and its traditions, and their perspectives on potential improvements within the classical concert milieu. This can improve the understanding of the transformation of listening habits and more clearly define the potential dynamics of concert culture development, which invariably reflect the attitudes of the society in which it exists.

Additionally, it is crucial to explore more precisely venues that are not exclusively dedicated to classical music, as well as outdoor performances. These settings offer intriguing opportunities to examine how audiences are cultivated, the influence of urban environments on the listening experience, and the dynamics of communication between listeners and performers in formats typically associated with rock and pop concerts. By focusing on these areas, future research can further enrich the understanding of audience engagement with classical music, enhance strategies for audience development, and contribute valuable insights into the evolving music appreciation. This includes considering the physiological and motor responses of

audience members during classical concerts, as explored in recent studies on induction synchrony (Tschacher et al. 2023), which investigate how music induces synchronized physiological and movement responses in listeners, including heart rate, respiration rate, and skin conductance response, among others.

Expanding on the exploration of aesthetic features in developing listening techniques, it becomes crucial to analyze the factors shaping familiarity with concerts, but also into the processes through which audience preferences for specific genres are cultivated. This includes understanding why certain musical styles resonate more with experienced listeners compared to newcomers. Special attention should be given to the issue of listening to contemporary classical music and its place in the repertoire policies of orchestras. These policies significantly influence the formation of listeners' tastes and serve not only aesthetic but also educational purposes.

Interestingly, contemporary operas at the Metropolitan Opera have played a significant role in attracting new audiences. A notable success is *X: The Life and Times of Malcolm X* by Anthony Davis, which chronicles the life of the African American revolutionary and civil rights leader Malcolm X. Following closely in terms of attendance are *Florencia en el Amazonas* by Daniel Catán, recognized as the first Latin American opera presented at the Metropolitan Opera and the first Spanish-language opera staged there, along with a revival of Terence Blanchard's *Fire Shut Up in My Bones*, the first opera composed by an African American in the organization's history. This repertoire policy reflects a strategic emphasis on selections that resonate with audiences, prioritizing not only aesthetic appreciation but also the cultural dimensions of the works. By addressing significant themes relevant to those who may be unaccustomed to attending opera as a social ritual, this approach has notably increased the average age of single-ticket buyers, who now constitute 85% of the audience, raising it to 44 years (Salazar 2024). This can serve as a prime example of how contextual references can enhance engagement with contemporary music.

Furthermore, the proposed research framework holds the potential to offer a post-colonial perspective on concert events and the audiences attending classical concerts. This approach would involve analyzing how classical musical experiences of "pure white supremacy" have been constructed in the historical perspective and how it can be potentially reframed within contemporary cultural contexts. For instance, the symposium titled *From Exclusive to Inclusive: Diversity and Inclusiveness in Classical Music*, held at the Concertgebouw in

Amsterdam on November 17, 2022, addressed these issues by focusing on the challenges and opportunities of making classical music more inclusive and representative of diverse communities. The event sought to promote diversity and inclusivity, highlighting the need for a more accessible and equitable approach within the classical music field (AUA 2022).

By addressing these dimensions, future research can deepen the understanding of the complexities surrounding audience engagement with classical music, the problems of incorporating contemporary classical music into the repertoire of musical institutions, highlight cultural nuances in music appreciation, and contribute to a more inclusive and comprehensive study of classical music experiences on a global scale. For instance, the Experimental Concert Research project exemplifies this focus by empirically investigating the concert experience. Its goal is to analyze various parameters of the ritualized events that constitute a classical concert, exploring the potential of music experiences in this context and identifying the essential elements that define the classical concert experience (ECR 2023).

In conclusion, this dissertation has deepened the understanding of classical concert experiences by highlighting the role of bodily techniques in shaping music listening, particularly in the context of classical concerts in Lisbon. By centering on audience practices and interactions within social, environmental, and aesthetic dimensions, the study has shifted the focus from performers to listeners, offering a nontrivial perspective on the reception of classical music. It has demonstrated that music listening is a complex process shaped by cultural norms, collective behaviors, and individual adaptations. Through its anthropological approach, the research has shown how different audiences perceive classical music across various venues, while revealing both the constraints and opportunities within these listening practices in Lisbon. These findings pave the way for future research to further explore audience engagement, contemporary music inclusion, and cultural differences in music appreciation, contributing to a more complete understanding of classical music appreciation around the world.

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List of Abbreviations

ACL	Academia das Ciências de Lisboa
ANSO	Academia Nacional Superior de Orquestra
CCB	Centro Cultural de Belém
FCG	Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian
IMD	Igreja do Menino de Deus
INSE	Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Encarnação
ISR	Igreja de São Roque
JOP	Jovem Orquestra Portuguesa
MFL	Millenium Festival ao Largo
MNAA	Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga
MNC	Museu Nacional dos Coches
MO	Museu do Oriente
OAM	Orquestra Académica Metropolitana
OCP	Orquestra de Câmara Portuguesa
OML	Orquestra Metropolitana de Lisboa
OSP	Orquestra Sinfónica Portuguesa
TMSR	Temporada Música em São Roque
TNSC	Teatro Nacional de São Carlos
UNL	Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

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APPENDIX 1

Classical concerts attended during the 2021/2022 and 2022/2023 concert seasons in Lisbon

№	*Date*	*Venue*	*Title / Program*	*Performers*
1	09.07.21	Largo de São Carlos	MFL	OSP / Cátia Moreso, meio-soprano / Joana Carneiro, maestrina
2	16.07.21	ACL	Música na Academia (III) / Deambulações Musicais	OML / Pedro Neves, maestro
3	22.07.21	Picadeiro Real do MNC	Concerto de Homenagem a Paulo Gaio Lima	OML / Ensemble de Violoncelos /Ana Pereira, violino / Marco Pereira, violoncelo / António Rosado, piano / Pedro Neves, maestro
4	08.10.21	Grande Auditório da FCG	Pianomania / Concerto para Piano de Tchaikovsky	Orquestra FCG / Nuno Coelho, maestro / Lucas Debargue, piano
5	17.10.21	Grande Auditório da FCG	O Simbolismo Sinfónico	OSP / Pedro Neves, maestro

6	28.10.21	Grande Auditório da FCG	Metamorfoses	Orquestra FCG / Daniel Lozakovich, violino / Lorenzo Viotti, maestro
7	05.11.21	Grande Auditório da FCG	Sinfonia Incompleta de Schubert	Orquestra FCG / Nuno Coelho, maestro
8	12.11.21	Auditório da Reitoria da UNL	Schubert / Mozart	OAM / Rossana Valente, flauta / Jean-Marc Burfin, maestro
9	14.11.21	Grande Auditório da FCG	Concertos de Domingo / El Amor Brujo	Orquestra FCG / Maria Luísa de Freitas, meio-soprano / Cristian Grajner de Sa, violino Vera Dias, comentadora / Lina González-Granados, maestrina
10	28.11.21	Grande Auditório da FCG	Concertos de Domingo / Viagem à Hungria	Orquestra FCG / Nuno Cernadas, piano / Maja Plüddemann, comentadora / Nuno Coelho, maestro
11	13.01.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	1.ª de Mahler	Orquestra FCG / Hannu Lintu, maestro / Karita Mattila, soprano
12	23.01.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	Festival Quartetos de Cordas	Quatuor Danel / Marc Danel, violino / Gilles Millet, violino / Vlad Bogdanas, viola / Yovan Markovitch, violoncelo
13	29.01.22	Museu do Oriente	Trios Românticos	Solistas da Metropolitana

14	09.02.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	3.ª de Mendelssohn	Orquestra FCG / Alexander Liebreich, maestro
15	19.02.22	Picadeiro Real do MNC	Três Poemas	OML / Quarteto de Cordas de Matosinhos / Pedro Neves, maestro
16	13.03.22	Grande Auditório do CCB	A Canção da Terra de Mahler	OML / Sylvain Gasançon, maestro / Cátia Moreso, contralto / Leonel Pinheiro, tenor
17	03.04.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	Ciclo de Piano	Grigory Sokolov, piano
18	26.05.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	Requiem de Verdi	Coro e Orquestra FCG / Lorenzo Viotti, maestro
19	10.07.22 (15:00)	Grande Auditório do CCB	Dia da Metropolitana	OAM / Maestros Licenciados pela ANSO / Jean-Marc Burfin, maestro
20	10.07.22 (17:00)	Grande Auditório do CCB	Dia da Metropolitana	OML / Ana Pereira, violino / Pedro Neves, maestro
21	11.09.22	Grande Auditório do CCB	Concerto Inaugural da Temporada 2022/2023	OML / Alina Pogostkina, violino / Pedro Neves, maestro
22	06.10.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	A Canção da Terra de Mahler	Orquestra FCG / Hannu Lintu, maestro
23	08.10.22	IMD	Antonio Vivaldi	Divino Sospiro / Nova Era Vocal Ensemble / Massimo Mazzeo, maestro

24	03.11.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	Requiem Alemão de Brahms	Coro e Orquestra FCG / Stanislav Kochanovsky, maestro
25	04.11.22	ISR	34.ª Edição da TMSR	Ludovice Ensemble
26	15.11.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	Ciclo de Piano	Leif Ove Andsnes, piano
27	16.11.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	3.ª de Brahms	Coro e Orquestra FCG / Lorenzo Viotti, maestro
28	13.12.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	Ciclo de Piano	Arcadi Volodos, piano
29	15.12.22	Grande Auditório da FCG	O Pássaro de Fogo de Stravinski	Orquestra FCG / Andreas Ottensamer, clarinétto e maestro
30	08.02.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	Ciclo de Piano	Evgeny Kissin, piano
31	17.02.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	6.ª de Mahler	Orchestra FCG/ Lorenzo Viotti, maestro
32	22.02.23	Grande Auditório do CCB	Festival Antena 2	Filarmónica União Taveirense / João Paulo Fernandes, maestro
33	23.02.22 (19:00)	Pequeno Auditório do CCB	Festival Antena 2	Ensemble Fiori e Fuoco
34	23.02.23 (21:00)	Grande Auditório do CCB	Festival Antena 2	Orquestra FCG / Dinis Sousa, maestro

35	25.02.23	Grande Auditório do CCB	Festival Antena 2	António Rosado, piano
36	02.03.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	Missa Solemnis de Beethoven	Coro e Orquestra FCG / Matthew Halls, maestro
37	11.03.23	INSE	Bach	Solistas da Metropolitana
38	17.03.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	Sinfonia Lírica de Zemlinsky	Orquestra FCG / Alexander Liebreich, maestro
39	02.04.23	Grande Auditório do CCB	9.ª de Mahler	OCP / JOP / Pedro Carneiro, maestro
40	06.04.23	Grande Auditório do CCB	Requiem de Mozart	OML / Alma Ensemble e Coro Participativo / Rita Marques, soprano, Cátia Moreso, meio-soprano / Leonel Pinheiro, tenor / Laurence Meikle, baixo / Paul Daniel, maestro
41	20.04.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	Sinfonia Fantástica de Berlioz	Orquestra FCG / Nuno Coelho, maestro
42	21.04.23	MNAA	Flauta com Mozart	Solistas da Metropolitana
43	22.04.23 (17:00)	MNAA	Violino & Contrabaixo	Solistas da Metropolitana
44	22.04.23 (19:00)	MNAA	Telemann / Vivaldi / Tartini	Solistas da Metropolitana
45	23.04.23	MNAA	O Violino Barroco	Solistas da Metropolitana
46	28.04.23	Teatro São Luiz	Festival do Violoncelo Paulo Gaio Lima	OML / Pedro Neves, maestro / Nuno Abreu, violoncelo

47	19.05.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	11.ª de Chostakovitch	Orquestra FCG / Hannu Lintu, maestro
48	25.05.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	9.ª de Beethoven	Coro e Orquestra FCG / Lawrence Foster, maestro
49	02.06.23	Grande Auditório da FCG	EDEN	Joyce DiDonato, meio-soprano / Il Pomo d'Oro
50	10.06.23	Grande Auditório do CCB	Dia da Metropolitana	OAM / Jean-Marc Burfin, maestro
51	17.06.23	Aula Magna da Universidade de Lisboa	Concerto para Orquestra	OML / Emilio Pomàrico, maestro
52	14.07.23	Largo de São Carlos	MFL	Coro do TNSC / OSP / Sílvia Sequeira, soprano / André Baleiro, barítono / Mário Laginha, piano / Joana Carneiro, maestrina

APPENDIX 2

Interview schedules

№	*Month and year*	*Age breaks*	*Sex*	*Interview type*	*Venue*
1	December 2021	30-40	M	IDI	–
2	January 2022	20-30	M	IDI	–
3	January 2022	40-50	M	RPS	MO
4	February 2022	40-50	FM	IDI	–
5	February 2022	40-50	M	IDI	–
6	March 2022	20-30	M	RPS	CCB
7	April 2022	70-80	M	IDI	–
8	April 2022	60-70	FM	IDI	–
9	May 2022	30-40	M	IDI	–
10	May 2022	20-30	FM	RPS	FCG
11	June 2022	30-40	FM	LSI	–
12	June 2022	40-50	M	IDI	–
13	October 2022	20-30	M	LSI	–
14	October 2022	50-60	FM	IDI	–
15	October 2022	40-50	FM	RPS	IMD
16	November 2022	30-40	FM	LSI	–

17	November 2022	40-50	M	RPS	ISR
18	December 2022	30-40	M	RPS	FCG
19	December 2022	20-30	FM	RPS	FCG
20	January 2023	30-40	FM	LSI	–
21	February 2023	40-50	FM	RPS	CCB
22	February 2023	20-30	M	RPS	CCB
23	February 2023	40-50	M	RPS	CCB
24	February 2023	18-25	M	RPS	CCB
25	February 2023	30-40	M	RPS	CCB
26	February 2023	20-30	FM	RPS	CCB
27	March 2023	40-50	M	RPS	FCG
28	March 2023	18-25	M	RPS	INSE
29	March 2023	40-50	FM	RPS	FCG
30	March 2023	30-40	FM	LSI	–
31	April 2023	50-60	FM	RPS	CCB
32	April 2023	50-60	M	RPS	CCB
33	April 2023	20-30	M	RPS	CCB
34	April 2023	18-25	M	IDI	–
35	April 2023	40-50	M	RPS	FCG
36	April 2023	30-40	FM	RPS	FCG

37	April 2023	50-60	FM	RPS	MNAA
38	April 2023	20-30	M	RPS	MNAA
39	April 2023	40-50	M	RPS	MNAA
40	April 2023	60-70	M	RPS	MNAA
41	April 2023	18-25	M	RPS	MNAA
42	June 2023	50-60	FM	RPS	FCG
43	June 2023	50-60	FM	RPS	CCB
44	June 2023	20-30	M	LSI	–
45	July 2023	30-40	FM	RPS	LSC
46	July 2023	40-50	M	RPS	LSC

APPENDIX 3

Random public survey list

1. What motivated your decision to attend today's concert?
2. How did you learn of this concert?
3. How often do you attend concerts, and what factors determine this frequency?
4. Do you typically prefer attending concerts alone? If not alone, who do you typically attend concerts with?
5. What genre of concerts do you typically prefer attending (e.g., symphony, choral, chamber)?
6. What criteria typically influence your choice of concerts (e.g., program, performers, venue, timing, day of the week)?
7. What seating preferences do you usually have when attending concerts?
8. How do you prepare for concerts? Do you do any "homework", such as listening to pieces or studying composers' biographies?
9. Do you follow any specific dress code when attending concerts? If so, what factors prompt you to dress more formally?
10. What do you consider to be the most valuable aspect of classical music concerts?

APPENDIX 4

In-depth interview question list

1. How did your interest in classical music develop?
- When did you start listening to classical music?
- Can you recall your first experience attending a classical concert?
- What factors motivated you to persist in attending such performances?

2. What do you think regarding concert etiquette?
- Do you prefer the ambiance with lights dimmed or illuminated?
- Do you typically appreciate having an intermission during concerts?
- Do you perceive the behavior rules during performances to be strict?

3. Is the atmosphere of a performance depended on the venue?
- Is it imperative for you to find the interior design of the hall pleasing?
- Can the settings of a concert hall improve the quality of the performance?
- Do you prefer to listen to music in historic edifices?

4. How do you get information about the music you are listening to?
- Do you typically read program booklets?
- Is internet research your preferred method for getting information?
- Do you appreciate when concert hosts or musicians explain the program for the audience?

5. What attracts you to experience classical music live?
- Do you find anything special about live performances?
- Do you gravitate towards familiar compositions during concerts?
- What differences do you feel between listening to a familiar piece and an unfamiliar one?

6. When do you get the most pleasure from listening to the piece?
- Can you determine the skills of the musicians during their performance?
- Under what circumstances do the acoustic characteristics of the hall affect the performance?
- Do your expectations usually match your experience?

7. How would you describe your concert-going experience?
- Would you consider yourself an attentive audience member?
- What impedes your focus during concerts, and what aids your concentration?
- Do you typically listen with closed eyes, or do you direct your attention elsewhere during performances, such as to the conductor or musicians?

8. How does a performance affect you emotionally?
- What thoughts occupy your mind while attending concerts?
- Do you try to follow the musical narrative of the piece being performed?
- Can the emotional resonance of music elicit physical responses, such as an accelerated heartbeat?

9. Do you share your emotional reactions with others?
- How do you feel when surrounded by a large audience during a performance?
- Do you feel embarrassed to express your emotions openly, e.g. crying?
- Do you participate in discussions about performances with others afterward?

10. What do you find most valuable about classical music concerts?
- What motivates you to attend such events?
- Do you get unique advantages from attending live concerts compared to listening online?
- What circumstances might dissuade you from attending a concert?

APPENDIX 5

Interviewer consent form

CONSENTIMENTO INFORMADO

O presente estudo surge no âmbito de um projeto de investigação a decorrer no **Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa** e na **Universidade Nova de Lisboa**. O estudo tem por objetivo investigar as práticas de audição e percepção da música clássica.

O estudo é realizado por Roman Korolev-Namazov, roman_korolev_namazov@iscte-iul.pt, que poderá contactar caso pretenda esclarecer uma dúvida ou partilhar algum comentário.

A sua participação no estudo, que será muito valorizada pois irá contribuir para o avanço do conhecimento neste domínio da ciência, consiste na realização de algumas entrevistas presenciais e inclui a frequência dos eventos musicais. Não existem riscos significativos expectáveis associados à participação no estudo.

A participação no estudo é estritamente **voluntária**: pode escolher livremente participar ou não participar. Se tiver escolhido participar, pode interromper a participação em qualquer momento sem ter de prestar qualquer justificação.

Declaro ter compreendido os objetivos de quanto me foi proposto e explicado pelo investigador, ter-me sido dada oportunidade de fazer todas as perguntas sobre o presente estudo e para todas elas ter obtido resposta esclarecedora, pelo que **aceito** nele participar.

Local, data

Nome

Assinatura