

The Intramuros Project: Performing Heritage, Performed Ethnography, and Documentary Performance

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ABSTRACT

The documentary playscript *The Intramuros Project* is based on ethnographic materials (i.e. transcripts of interviews and storytelling) collected and annotated between March and September 2019 from different stakeholders of Intramuros or Old Manila. These include security guards, ice cream vendors, informal settlers, on-the-job-trainees, *padyak* drivers, *kalesa* drivers, and government workers. The documentary performance manuscript also drew from other existing documentary materials such as the Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, news reports about Intramuros, and other resources written about the walled city of Manila. The playscript was developed and workshopped using moment work, a devising technique introduced by the Tectonic Theater Project where devisors and dramaturgs are invited to think of potential staging devices on different scenes. Generally, the documentary piece is an attempt to problematize the concept of heritage using Intramuros as a starting point. In this paper, the playscript developed is explained through the dramaturgical notes. In the end, it is asserted that creative processes of devising and dramaturgy also contribute to cultural studies discourse.

Keywords: dramaturgy, devising, documentary performance, cultural property, performed ethnography, Old Manila

Introduction

On 20 March 2020, a new documentary theatre piece entitled *The Intramuros Project* was scheduled to be read dramatically on the stage of the University of the Philippines (UP) Theater. However, the stage-reading was cancelled due to the Enhanced Community Quarantine (ECQ) imposed by the national government on Metro Manila beginning 16 March 2020. Under the ECQ, non-essential movement and social gatherings in enclosed spaces were prohibited. After negotiations with members of the dramaturgical team behind the play, *The Intramuros Project* was read dramatically on 28 May 2020 via Zoom, an online video conferencing platform.

The Intramuros Project was an interdisciplinary research and a creative project. The members of the research team deployed methodologies from theatre studies, anthropology, and heritage studies. Specifically, the project was inspired by ethnography; interested in the narratives of the community members we encountered during the fieldwork conducted on the weekends between March and September 2019 from the walled city of Intramuros, the research team sought to document their conceptions and perceptions of heritage and cultural development. At the same time, it was a performance of that ethnography, devised by the research team-turned-dramaturgs from their annotations of the collected narratives.

For the research team, devising a performance manuscript serves a better tool to foreground the main agenda of the project: to problematize the concept of heritage. The writing of the play was necessary because the research team felt that the narratives possessed some dramatic attributes: they involved several tensions, and they were character-driven and highly dialogic.

The narratives we used came from the “underrepresented” members of the Intramuros community, such as the store owners, attendants of different places of interest, tricycle or *pedicab* (non-motored tricycle) drivers, *kalesa* (carriage) drivers, tour guides, on-the-job-training tourism students, and informal settlers. Intramuros or Old Manila is one of the most popular

tourist destinations in the City of Manila. This walled city is the lone district of Manila where colonial Spanish influences are still plentiful. Because of these colonial structures, Intramuros is publicized as a heritage city. The San Agustin Church inside the walled city is one of the four Baroque Churches in the Philippines, collectively inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The outline of the walls of Intramuros is the buffer zone of the aforementioned heritage site; hence, the UNESCO inscription is unofficially extended to the entire Old Manila.

The State (i.e. local government unit—the city) defines the highly complex and contested concept of heritage via Republic Act No. 10066, or The National Heritage Act of 2009, which uses the “glorious past as the primary defining framework” (Delasanta and Tiatco 2019, 302). This gives more emphasis on the material or physical attributes of built heritage, such as monuments, or historical markers (Harrison 2010, 2013; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006; Gavari-Barba 2018; Dela Santa and Tiatco 2019).

The dramaturgical team worked on a definition of heritage as “a constitutive cultural process that identifies things and places (such as the Intramuros), that can be given meaning and value as ‘heritage,’ reflecting contemporary cultural and social values, debates and aspirations” (Smith 2006, 3). We devised the performance material because the informants, as their narratives imply, belong to the workforce of the heritage zone, and contribute significantly to the development of the space (Intramuros) as a heritage locale. They have witnessed how the walled city progressed and even decayed. Apart from those of the informants, the performance material also incorporates research on heritage and write-ups on Intramuros. Quotations from these secondary sources became lines in the performance, and these have been indicated via endnotes.

Following Edieser Dela Santa and Sir Anril P. Tiatco’s (2019) inquiry on a potential methodology for heritage tourism research, the research team devised the performance manuscript during a series of writing workshops held between November 2019 and January 2020. Dela Santa and Tiatco inquire

How may the concept of heritage be negotiated among community stakeholders in order to use it as a necessary and strategic method in the development of cultural tourism? The argument proposes that through critical ethnography, the continued subjugation and marginalization of alternative meanings that lead to ideological domestication, and to the perpetuation of essentialized First World imagery of Asian countries, can be checked. Instead of these, a more nuanced and community-based understanding of cultural heritage can be developed, thus allowing the articulation of modalities of cultural heritage that enhances tourism imaginaries and the semiotics of heritage tourism, recognizes the plurality of voices, and ultimately identifies ways in which tourism becomes a positive force for social change. (Dela Santa and Tiatco 2019, 301)

The performance text is the team's response to the challenge posited in the aforementioned citation above. It is also their way to reflect on narratives of various stakeholders in Intramuros in relation to cultural heritage, and to reimagine these narratives as intervening spaces between the past and the present. Lastly, the play is presented as the team's engagement with performance ethnography—a clear assertion that even in theatre and the writing of a drama, no singular authority must be treated as an absolute.

Dramaturgical Notes: Performed Ethnography, Documentary Performance

The devised playscript was conceptually framed as a documentary performance. At the same time, in the dramaturgical process of devising, the team imagined performers “taking on the characters of real individuals whose actual words are being used” (Hammond and Steward 2008, 9). The devising of the playscript was inspired by the tradition of the Tectonic Theater Project’s “moment work,” or the creation of “theatrical narratives from the ground up” and the “writing of performance as opposed to writing text” (Kaufman and McAdams 2018, 29). This technique is the intermarriage of form and content, and the writing-devising entangles both the conceptions of the theatrical and the dramatic in the storytelling.

Kaufman and McAdams define the dramatic narrative as “one that revolves around the dramatic event at its core. Dramatic narrative is concerned with conflict, character development, dramatic tension, plot, etc.” (22). These are the common elements associated with a dramatic script intended to be a literary material. The theatrical narrative, by contrast, refers to “sound, movement, color, light, mood, sets, theatrical tensions, etc.” (22). In short, the theatrical narrative concerns the presentation on an actual stage; it allows performers to communicate themes, intentions, and advocacies in a more coherent narrative to the audience.

A good example of a play that emerged from this methodological and conceptual method is *The Laramie Project*. It is a performed ethnography about the brutal death of a gay teenager, Matthew Shepard, in the conservative town of Laramie in Wyoming. *The Laramie Project* premiered at the Ricketson Theater in Laramie, Wyoming in 2000. In this documentary performance, members of the Tectonic Theater Project developed the playscript by visiting Laramie and engaging the community in ethnographic conversations about anything they wanted to share regarding Shepard’s death. They discovered the individuals’ insights on homosexuality, homophobia, and other gender issues. Afterwards, the dramaturgical team conducted a series of moment work where annotated transcripts from the interviews were improvised as both dramatic and theatrical narratives. In other words, each participating collaborator or member of the Tectonic Theater Project presented potential scenes with personal dramaturgical notes to come up with a potential episode in the entire play.

This method of dramatic writing involves a variety of inputs from collaborators. For Kaufman, the artistic director of the Tectonic Theater Project, a play is no longer the sole output of a single playwright, who is often conceived as the authority of the theatre’s vision of truth. Kaufman believes in the dialogic nature of truth-telling (Brown 2005). Like theatre, the truth involves conversations where at some point an understanding and a concrete judgment are posed. Kaufman is convinced that theatre must communicate “through new forms, new containers that reflect the impulses

of a work's creators" (Brown 2005, 54) rather than through the authority of words (a reference to the author). However, it is important that in the process, "there is always a single vision guiding the group" (Kaufman and McAdams 2018, 23). In the case of *The Intramuros Project*, the vision was simply to dig out the potential and the problematics of the concept of heritage outside academic discourse.

During field engagements in Intramuros, the team kept in mind that any ethnographic study is a representation of a group of people, and that representation has ethical consequences. Each researcher-turned-dramaturg understood that as a social being, the individual represents, in one way or another, a group of people through storytelling and other narrative modes. For instance, when one watches a film, the filmmakers provide a glimpse of an individual situated within a community and its culture (and even sub-culture). The problem: representation may sometimes be editorialized, spectacularized, and even hyperbolized to suit an agenda not necessarily beneficial to the community being represented. Performance scholar and activist, D. Soyini Madison, notes "how people are represented is how they are treated" (2012, 4). The team members internalized this insight, treating the informants as characters of the documentary playscript.

For Dwight Conquergood (1992; 2002), ethical ethnography is an engagement of critical ethnography: an engagement and "a dialogue with others" (Dela Santa and Tiatco 2019, 306). This is the "recognition" of subjectivity as not only "a reference to a private subject position" but also as an individual's "relationship with others" (306). D Soyini Madison defines critical ethnography as "the meeting of multiple sides in an encounter with and among others, one in which there is a negotiation and dialogue toward substantial and viable meanings that made a difference in other's worlds" (2012, 14). In this way, the dialogic nature of critical ethnography refuses any totalizing generalization of the community under study because the ethnographer is situated in a multitude of expressions and narratives that transgress, collide, and embellish realms of meaning. Conquergood (1992) and Madison (2012) note that the representation in any critical ethnography

is also the presentation of the agreements and disagreements, of differences and similarities, and of separation and coming-together as narrated and performed by the community members themselves. In Intramuros, several of the informants do not share an absolute idea on how the Walled City must be shared and perceived as a heritage site—this is the dramatic and theatrical tension of the playscript. This tension is the beating heart of the play.

The informants in this ethnographic project are also experts when it comes to the ins and outs of Old Manila. Their stories are unorthodox and often ignored. However, these narratives are integral to the development of a more nuanced image of Intramuros as a heritage site. In a way, the play has created a safer space for these individuals to narrate their stories and to be heard. The play has revealed how much information is marginalized by established authority because of its tendency to brand something as official and unofficial. Apparently, the stories the informants shared are “unofficial” because as the performance playscript has indicated, most of them are treated as sores to the aestheticization of the space as heritage.

The Intramuros Project was written to thrust the complex phenomenon of heritage into public debate. We believe that the theatre has a creative potency to extend political and cultural discussions, which are usually presented as academic and policy papers. The use of theatre and performance is also a political choice for the research team/dramaturgical team members because theatre has a capacity to facilitate what Jaques Rancière in *Politics of Aesthetics* (2004) calls the “distribution of the sensible.” For Rancière, the political in the aesthetics of the theatre is committed to provide a sense of illusion, which appears to be “real” in a sense that the illusion is “distributed in the bodies, images and other objects implicated in the liveness of a performance” (Tiatco 2014, 190).

About the Play

Two researchers (*Mananaliksik A* and *Mananaliksik B*) are assigned to conduct an ethnography of the Old Manila. The goal is to provide a more critical concept of heritage by engaging not the usual authorities on heritage discourse but other informants who they believe contribute to the government's goal in making Intramuros as a world-class heritage site. The researchers engage, interview, communicate, and follow the lives of two tourism students undergoing "on-the-job training" at the Fort Santiago (*Estudyante A* and *Estudyante B*), a three-wheeler driver (*Padyak Driver*), a vendor of local ice cream (*Sorbetero*), a coachman (*Kutsero*), a government worker (*Direktor*), and informal settlers residing in the walled city.

The play begins with "*Usapang Pamana/Usapang Intramuros*" where the researchers provide a narrative description of Intramuros as a historical city and its eventual becoming: both as an urban jungle and as a heritage site based on archival documents, such as those written by historians and cultural commentators. The informants then introduce themselves by linking "who they are" to "what they do" in the heritage city. The introduction ends with the government employee with a position at the Intramuros Administration (*Direktor*) who thinks of the walled city as a picture-perfect space in the entire Metropolitan Manila, thanks to the national and even international beauty pageants who occasionally visit Intramuros for pictorials and introduce the Old Manila as a heritage city to the world. As the government employee continues to talk about the VIP treatment to these beauty pageant figures, he shoos away some kids from the Informal Family Settlers' (IFS) community for their potential to disrupt the ongoing photoshoot of a local pageant.

The next section is a short conversation of the researchers with "*Ang Kutsero at ang Padyak Driver*." Both informants remember that not so long ago, it was easier for them to drive tourists around Intramuros, and even beyond the walled city. As both continue to show the "other" picture of Intramuros to the researchers, the *kutsero* and the *padyak driver* share how "driving" as

their primary livelihood, they have been exposed to everyday challenges such as conflicts with the Intramuros Administration over the identification of official tourist-vehicles to roam around the walled city.

The third section is “*Dirty Ice Cream ng San Agustin*” (Dirty Ice Cream in San Agustin). The *sorbetero* narrates how she has managed to peddle in an unwelcoming community of Intramuros. She suspects her being an “outsider” or someone who does not reside inside the walled city has caused the literal push-and-pull movement of her dirty ice cream cart.

Following this is “*Kung Papaano Maging Tour Guide sa Intramuros*” (How to be a Tour Guide in Intramuros) where two on-the-job-training tourism students share snippets of their experiences as student tour-guides in Intramuros. The two researchers have advised both to change their guiding style to accommodate younger tourists who most often have short attention span. The encounter ends with the researchers asking what Intramuros is for them and getting no definite answer aside from the usual invocation of it as a heritage space.

Based on actual reports about the IFS, the next part is “*Konting Kaalaman*” (A Little Information). Similar to a news feed, three journalists join the researchers to give a snapshot of issues and debates about heritage discourse vis-a-vis the settlers who claim they have been there since time immemorial. The researchers take note of the concepts used by the journalists but zero in to one phrase: sore to the eye of the walled city.

This reportage has inspired the finale of the play, “*Whose Heritage is it Anyway?*” centering on the children of the IFS and how domestic and foreign tourists differently perceive these kids: as mischief figures and as playful characters of the space. In the end, all informants return to the stage as the researchers realize that all these individuals compose the microcosm of Intramuros as a heritage space.

The Intramuros Project

Isang dokumentaryong dula base sa isang etnograpiya at iba pang mga dokumentong nakalap hinggil sa Intramuros bilang isang Heritage Site. Labing-limang (15) manananghal na maaaring gumanap sa iba't ibang karakter ng dula.

Dahan-dahang magbubukas ang ilaw. Dahan-dahang maririnig ang iba't ibang tunog o ingay ng Intramuros tuwing umaga kagaya ng busina ng karitela, ang flag ceremony ng mga opisina sa paligid nito, tunog ng kampanya ng Manila Cathedral at ng San Agustin, tunog ng mga pumapasok na mag-aaral sa mga unibersidad na nakapaligid rito. Sa may kalayuan, maririnig din ang tunog ng mga sasakyan mula sa mga kalye na nakapalibot dito.

Papasok ang mga manananghal. Isang dramatikong galaw ang makikita sa entablado. Ito ay isang pantomina ng mga eksena ng Intramuros tuwing umaga. Ito ay halaw sa nasambit na tunog ng Intramuros tuwing umaga. Pagkatapos nito, ang mga manananghal ay mananatili sa entablado, subalit sila ay nakatalikod sa mga manonood.

FLASH SA SCREEN: **Usaping Pamana / Usapang Intramuros.**

Papasok ang dalawang mananaliksik—magmumula sila sa may awditoryum. Kung possible, manggagaling sa may kanan ang isa at sa kaliwa naman ang isa pa. Habang naglalakad patungo sa entablado, matatanaw ang mga lumang litrato ng Intramuros sa mga pader.

MANANALIKSIK A

Sinasabi ng mga historyador, ang Intramuros ay nagsimula bilang isang fortification ni Rajah Sulayman noong bago pa man dumating ang mga Kastila sa Maynila. Noong 1571, ang Kamaynilaan ay tuluyan nang sinakop ng mga konkistadores sa pamununo ni Miguel Lopez de Legaspi. Mula noon, ang fortification ni Sulayman ay unti-unting naging pader upang maging moog ng mga Kastila laban sa mga kaaway kagaya ng mga Instik at mga Moro.

MANANALIKSIK B

From the 16th century, the walls underwent reconstructions—Spanish Generals added gates, moats, bulwarks, parapets and drawbridges. Manila became a Hispanic city.

MANANALIKSIK A

But Intramuros suffered heavily during the Second World War. Noong matapos ang giyera noong 1945, ang Kamaynilaan ay sinasabing second most devastated city sa buong mundo. Reconstructing the grandiose city was slow. The Philippine government had an estimate of USD 8 million to rebuild the city. But the United States only allotted USD 1.2 million as war damage payments.

MANANALIKSIK B

Ang perang binayaran ng Amerika ay inilaan para sa rekonstruksiyon ng mga iba't ibang heritage structure kagaya nito—ang Intramuros.

MANANALIKSIK A

But rebuilding life from scratch was hard. Manila, five years after the war, as Nick Joaquin wrote in *Manila, my Manila*, was “in the same condition in which it had been left after the Japs and the GIs were through with it.” Page 314 ng nationalist history ni Joaquin.

MANANALIKSIK B

Dagdag din ni Joaquin: “Abnormality had become the pattern of our lives. And the abnormality showed most in the three freaks that the Liberation had spawned in Manila—the jeepney, the barong-barong, and the squatter,” same page—alam ko rin si Joaquin.

MANANALIKSIK A

1951: Republic Act No. 597, proklamasyon na ang Intramuros—ang mga pader nito bilang National Historical Monument at ang Fort Santiago bilang historical shrine.

MANANALIKSIK B

1977: Presidential Decree No. 1277, preservation of the walls and the restoration of its esplanade and its moats.

MANANALIKSIK A

1979: Presidential Decree No. 1616, nabuo ang Intramuros Administration na may layuning mamahala sa restorasyon, proteksiyon at konserbasyon nito.

MANANALIKSIK B

Restoration works in Intramuros started in the 1960s at nagpapatuloy pa rin hanggang ngayon.

Aawit ng isang makabayang awitin ang dalawang mananaliksik. Maaaring awitin ang “Mutya ng Pasig” ni Nicanor Abelardo bilang tanaw naman ang ilog mula sa Fort Santiago. Maglalakad-lakad ang mga mananaliksik sa buong entablado at magsisimula nang magsipagharapan ang mga manananghal na kani-kanina ay nagtanghal ng isang pantomina.

Unang haharap ang Estudyante A.

ESTUDYANTE A

Kim, 18 years old. Estudyante. Tourism major. Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila. (*Tatalikod muli ang Estudyante A. Haharap naman ang Padyak Driver*).

PADYAK DRIVER

Ikatlong henerasyon sa Intramuros. Kalesa driver si Tatay. Housewife ang nanay. Di ko maalala ang trabaho ng lolo. Tatlong anak, dalawa—panganay. (*Tatalikod muli ang Padyak Driver. Haharap naman ang Sorbetero. Sa kalagitnaan ng pagpapakilala ng Sorbetero, Haharap muli ang Estudyante A.*)

SORBETERO

Dayo lang, dayo lang. Mga dalawang buwan pa lang—pwesto ko na talaga ito. Dito ko na rin kinukuha ang bentang ice cream.

ESTUDYANTE A

Kim, 18 years old. Estudyante. Tourism major. Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila. (*Haharap ang Estudyante B*).

ESTUDYANTE B

Dalawang linggo pa lang po.

ESTUDYANTE A

OJT po. (*Tatalikod ang Estudyante A. Haharap ang Kutsero at sabay magsasalita ang Estudyante B*).

ESTUDYANTE B

Memoryado ko ang script na ginagamit tuwing nagto-tour si Mang Kanor, pinakamagaling na tourist guide dito sa Intramuros.

KUTSERO

Dito na rin tumanda, ngayon puro mga Intsik at mga Koreano ang sumasakay ng kalesa. (*Tatalikod ang Kutsero at ang Estudyante B. Haharap naman muli ang Padyak Driver*).

PADYAK DRIVER

Ikatlong henerasyon sa Intramuros. Kalesa driver si Tatay. Housewife ang nanay. Di ko maalala ang trabaho ng lolo. Tatlong anak, dalawa—panganay. (*Tatalikod ang Kutsero at ang Padyak Driver. Sa puntong ito, nakalabas na ng entablado ang Mananaliksik A at Mananaliksik B. Haharap ang Sorbetero*).

SORBETERO

Madalas pinapaalis ako sa p'westo—(*Haharap ang Direktor, sasabayan ang Sorbetero ang pagsasalita o pagpapakilala nito*).

DIREKTOR

Director III. Naku, nakakahiyang banggitin ang Salary Grade. (*Tatalikod muli ang Direktor. Magpapatuloy ang Sorbetero kasabay ang Padyak Driver at ang Estudyante B*).

SORBETERO

Kasi may mga taga-looban din na nagbebenta ng sorbetes, gano'n. Tsambahan at swertehan din lang.

PADYAK DRIVER

Kailangang kumayod—Grade 7 na panganay dun sa una. Ewan ko ba diyan sa K-to-12 na yan.

ESTUDYANTE B

Idol ko yun, si Mang Kanor. Mapa-Pinoy, Amerikano o Instik, in demand na tour guide. Gusto kong maging ganon. (*Tatalikod ang Sorbetero, Padyak Driver at Estudyante B. Hararap muli ang Direktor at ang Estudyante A*).

DIREKTOR

Hindi naman sila magulo, pero hindi rin naman maikakaila na minsan may gulo dahil din sa kanila.

ESTUDYANTE A

Hindi naman po. Mababait naman ang mga nasa opisina. Pero minsan may mga masusungit din. (*Sa gitna ng pagsasalita ng Direktor at Estudyante A. Hararap muli ang Kutsero. Matapos ang Direktor at Estudyante A, tatalikod ulit sila*).

KUTSERO

May mga Pinoy rin naman na sumasakay, lalo na yung mga balikbayan. Masaya din silang kausap—miss na miss nila Pilipinas, pero madalas kuripot. (*Tatalikod ang Kutsero at hararap muli ang Estudyante A, Estudyante B, Sorbetero*).

ESTUDYANTE A

Naku, bawal pa kasi ang tip-tip. Pero minsan may mga makukulit, tinatanggap na rin namin. Dagdag din po sa allowance. Naku, wag niyo pong ikukuwento sa kanila.

ESTUDYANTE B

Micaela! Ella na lang po, OJT. Pero part-time model din—pose-pose din lang dito din sa Intramuros. Lalo na pag kailangan ng mga photographer.

SORBETERO

Hindi naman sa ano, pero minsan kawawa din kaming mga taga-labas, trabaho lang naman, trabaho lang. (*Hararap lahat sa Direktor*).

DIREKTOR

Trabaho lang naman, kasi minsan pag nagkaroon na ng inggitan, naku hirap na hirap na kami. Mabuti na rin lang maayos kausap ang mga kapitan.

Matatanaw sa entablado ang ilang eksena ng pelikulang “A Portrait of an Artist as Filipino” na idinerehe ni Lamberto Avellana noong 1965. Dahan-dahang mauupo ang lahat ng mga manananghal na tila nanonood ng isang pelikula sa isang “open air cinema.” Papasok muli ang dalawang mananaliksik.

MANANALIKSIK A

Nick Joaquin’s *A Portrait of an Artist as a Filipino* begins with a long monologue where the character Bitoy Camacho describes the glorious days of Intramuros. Ang gamit kong version ay yung published ng Penguin Classics noong 2017. Sosyal di ba? Sabi niya sa First Scene, page 293 sa book: “To the early conquistadores she was a new Tyre and Sidon; to the early missionaries she was new Rome. Within these walls was gathered the wealth of the Orient-silk from China; spices from Java; gold and ivory and precious stones from India. And within these walls the champions of Christ assembled to conquer the Orient of the Cross.” In short, ubod ito ng ganda!

Pagpapalabas pa rin ng piling eksena ng pelikula.

MANANALIKSIK B

To continue, linya din ni Bitoy Camacho, page 1 din “Though the old streets once crowded a marvelous multitude-viceroy and archbishops; mystics and merchants; pagan sorcerers and Christian martyrs; nuns and harlots and marquesas; English pirates, Chinese mandarins, Portuguese traitors, Dutch spies, Moro sultans, and Yankee clipper captains. For three centuries this medieval town was a Babylon in commerce and a new Jerusalem in its faith.” Melting pot na siya noon pa man!

Piling eksena naman mula sa pelikulang “Ang Larawan” na idinirehe ni Loy Arcenas noong 2017.

MANANALIKSIK A

(*Kausap ang Mananaliksik B*): Kung naaalala mo, Bitoy laments its decay dahil sa giyera. Heto sa page 294, haba kasi nitong monologue ni Bitoy. Anyhow, sabi: “the jungle had returned the modern jungle, the slum-jungle-just as merciless and effective as the real thing-demolishing men’s moment of history and devouring his monuments. The noble and ever loyal City had become just another jungle of slums.”

MANANALIKSIK B

Bitoy Camacho’s descriptions of Manila’s decay are more manifest in the present state of the city.

MANANALIKSIK A

Mismo! Today, Manila is a “modern jungle”—ang dense niya kung tutuusin. Pero, it is a space of a geographic picture filled with stories coming from the different islands of the kapuluan because of the influx of local migrants from different regions and islands of the country and those of different nationalities such as Chinese, Japanese, Indian, etcetera, etcetera. Not all of the local migrants are successful in the city. Many of the unsuccessful ones opt to stay as what is known in the media as “informal settlers.” This is probably the picture of the jungle that is the slums in the descriptions of Camacho in Joaquin’s play.¹

Magdidilim ang entablado. Tatayo ang Direktor. Lalapitan siya ng mga Mananaliksik.

Makikita sa pader ang bidyo ng mga Fast Food chain sa loob ng Intramuros—tapos isang video na susunod sa deskripsiyon ng mga linya ng Direktor.

DIREKTOR

Siyembre bilang head ng unit, dapat alam ko rin ang description ng espasyo maging mga espasyo sa palibot nito. Madalas pag hindi available ang mga OJT at walang available na Tour Guide, ako talaga ang lumalabas, lalo pa pag may VIP.

MANANALIKSIK A

Sir, sino na po bang VIP ang nai-tour niyo sa Intramuros?

DIREKTOR

Ang latest ay si Madam Stella.

MANANALIKSIK B

Madam Stella po? (*medyo confused*).

DIREKTOR

Oo, si madam! Kasama ng mga Binibining Pilipinas candidates.

Sa may pader, matatanaw ang bidyo ng pictorial o photo-shoot ng mga beauty queens at mga kandidata ng Binibining Pilipinas.

MANANALIKSIK B

Ah—so madalas po sila nandito?

DIREKTOR

Actually, may pictorial yung mga candidate ngayon. Gusto niyong mapanood?

MANANALIKSIK B

Sige po! Saan po ba sila nagpipictorial?

DIREKTOR

Sa may Baluarte sila ngayon, ipasama ko kayo sa staff.

MANANALIKSIK A

Madalas po ba dito magphotoshoot ang mga beauty queen?

DIREKTOR

Oo! Mga five years na yata—well at least during my time. Tama, 5 years na akong Direktor.

MANANALIKSIK B

Mabuti na lang po at Intramuros ang venue—

DIREKTOR

Ehsaan pa nga ba? Alam niyo naman ang beauty pageant—mapa-Binibini yan o yung Miss Earth—ginagamit na talaga nila ang Intramuros as representative ng Philippine culture and heritage.

MANANALIKSIK A

Ah, talaga po?

DIREKTOR

Oo! Oo! Kasi naman di ba, ang mga beau-con mahilig magpakita ng mga tourist destinations. Eh pag Manila, tourist destination talaga ang Intramuros. Dito talaga sila pumupunta para sa pagpapakita ng Philippine history at kultura natin.

MANANALIKSIK B

May mga ibang photoshoot na hindi po related sa beau-con?

DIREKTOR

Siyempre marami, mga kasal—prenuptial photo, minsan may debut rin. May mga pelikula rin. Lalo pa yung mga indie-indie.

MANANALIKSIK A

Yung sa pelikula, lalo pa yung historical, understandable po na gamitin ang Intramuros pero yung mga ibang photoshoot, bakit po kaya nila pinipili ang Intramuros pag photoshoot?

DIREKTOR

Maganda kasi talaga dito—di ba? Nakapasok na ba kayo sa loob ng Fort Santiago? Siguro naman napuntahan niyo na yun, di ba? Napasyalan niyo na ba yung mga ibang spaces—mga Baluarte—San Diego halimbawa. Di ba ang picture perfect?

MANANALIKSIK B

Oo nga naman—picture perfect.

DIREKTOR

Pero hindi naman buong Intramuros picture perfect. May tinatawag na sore to the eyes kumbaga. Pero minsan, gusto ito ng

mga foreigners. Kaya hindi rin sila totally mapa-alis. Pero kung tutuusin, matagal na rin silang gustong paalisin. Since dumating ako dito. Since my appointment, naging important project na talaga ng IA (Intramuros Administration) ang relocation nila.

MANANALIKSIK B

Ah you mean sir, yung mga squatters.

Apat na batang mula sa informal settler community ang papasok at maglalaro ng tagu-taguan.

MGA BATA

Maalis taya! (*Hanggang sa magkaroon ng isang taya. Masayang maglalaro ang mga bata. Papanoorin sila ng Direktor, Mananaliksik A, Mananaliksik B.*)

BATA 1

Tagu-taguan sa ilalim ng buwan. Wala sa likod, wala sa harap. Pagbilang ng sampu, nakatago na kayo. (*Magsisimula nang maghanap ng matataguan ang tatlong bata—hanggang sa makalabas sila ng entablado.*)

BATA 1

Isa, dalawa, tatlo, apat, lima, anim, pito, walo, siyam, sampu. (*Magsisimula nang maghanap ang batang taya.*)

DIREKTOR

Actually, hindi namin ginagamit ang squatter. So please don't use it din. Mas politically correct ang informal settlers....

BATA 1

(*Patakbang palabas*) Welcome to USA! (*Akmang hahabulin ng Direktor ang bata.*)

DIREKTOR

Naku, heto na nga sinasabi ko—mga bata, hindi kayo pwedeng maglaro diyan sa photoshoot ng Binibining Pilipinas diyan. (*Lalabas na rin ang Direktor. Papasok ang Padyak Drayber sakay ng kanyang pedicab. Sasakay ang Mananaliksik B. Mula sa audience area, papasok ang kutsero.*)

PADYAK DRIVER

Masayang pagdating boss sa USA - United Squatters Area ng Intramuros!

FLASH SA SCREEN: **Ang Kutsero at ang Padyak Driver**

MANANALIKSIK B

Ang kutsero at ang padyak driver.

PADYAK DRIVER

Barangay 655. Yan ang tawag sa barangay.

KUTSERO

Di naman ako dito nagsimula. (*Lalapitan ng Mananaliksik A ang Kutsero pero akmang may makakasulubong na turista*).

MANANALIKSIK A

(*Bilang isang barker*) Hello, where you from? China? Nihao! Nihao! tour, tour with kalesa? How many are you? Two only? Sidecar is good—you see Intramuros?

KUTSERO

Nag-umpisa ako sa Binondo. Chinatown! ‘Di ba nga noong araw, nagkaroon tayon ng... Nagkaroon ng project ang gobyerno. Yung WOW Philippines. Kami yung parang front liner ng WOW Philippines. Sabi ni Gordon noon: lahat ng mga kalesa—kami nga raw ang magiging mukha ng WOW Philippines.

PADYAK DRIVER

Yung pagtotour-tour, 3 years na. Pero yung pahatid-hatid lang, 2 years lang po. Bale limang taon na po akong nagsaside-car.

KUTSERO

Pero dito, nung araw kasi, may sarili na rin akong boundary ba kung tawagin. Mga dalawang araw—pero sa may Chinatown talaga simula noon ang tour. Magkaka-ugnay-ugnay lahat kasi nun—Chinatown-Intramuros tapos babalik Chinatown. Hindi pa ganito ka-engrande. Pero grupu-grupo kasi yung mga

namamasyal noon kaya di nawawalan ng turista. Pero di naman lahat foreigner. May mga senior, may mga—yung klase ba—ano na nga tawag dun? Oo, field trip.

PADYAK DRIVER

Di naman ganoon kalaki. Minsan 150 o minsan dalawang daan, okay na yun. Basta may pang-galaw galaw, may panggastos. Eh bihira lang din kaming masakyan. kasi may mga ibang nag-totour, kalesa gustong sakyan. Tapos may bamboo bike na rin. Pucha, kompetensiya pa kami ng mga amput—

KUTSERO

Ah ginhawa naman din pero may mga pagkakataon na wala ding nagpapatour. Panaka-naka kumbaga. Pag peak season, nagdadagsaan na sila: Koreano, mga Instik lalo pa. Umaabot hanggang Luneta. Pag di peak season, marami sa kanila mas gusto nilang mag pedicab na.

PADYAK DRIVER

May accreditation din. Pumipila kami at nagbabayad din.

KUTSERO

Mga colorum kung tawagin. Pero hanap-buhay yun. Wala tayong magagawa.

MANANALIKSIK A

May turista po kayo—ayun, naghahanap yata ng kutsero.

KUTSERO

Ganyan lang naman kalakaran dito—mga turista ang naghahanap sa amin. Madalas yung partner-partner na tour guide ang tagahanap namin ng pasahero tapos kami abang-abang lang ba. Minsan nakakainip rin kasi magdidilim na, hindi pa rin kami tinatawag ng tour guide.

Lalabas ang Kutsero. Lalapitan ng Mananaliksik A ang Mananaliksik B at ang Padyak Driver. Sasakay na rin sa pedicab ang Mananaliksik A.

MANANALIKSIK B

Ano po yung kaibahan, Sir?

PADYAK DRIVER

Kasi, para sa akin, yung barangay namin, kumbaga, yung Chairman namin yung nagliligtas sa amin. Kasi, for example, dati po last 7 years, o last 6 years, nagkakaroon pa ng hulihan ng mga sidecar na colorum kung tawagin. Nung taon na po na yun, wala pa po kaming permit. Pili pa lang po yung nagkakaroon ng permit kasi. Ayun pa po yung nakikipaghabulan pa kami sa mga nanghuhuli para lang hindi mahuli ang sidecar. Kasi once na mahuli yung sidecar, impound na po. Wala na hong labasan.

MANANALIKSIK B

Hindi po pwedeng tubusin yun?

PADYAK DRIVER

Depende po sa pakikipag-usap ng barangay chairman.

MANANALIKSIK A

So inilaban po kayo ng chairman ninyo? Kailan ka nagkaroon ng permit?

PADYAK DRIVER

Magdadalawang taon pa lang nga.

MANANALIKSIK B

Ah dati po, hindi lahat legal ang pagsa-sidecar? Medyo na-curious ako dun sa barangay. Parang... kunwari pag kabilang barangay ka, di ka pwedeng kumuha ng pasahero sa ganitong barangay?

PADYAK DRIVER

Ganun po, meron pong parte na ganun.

MANANALIKSIK B

Nagkaroon na po ba ng ganyang alitan na parang, “O bat mo kinukuha yung... bakit ka pumapasada sa barangay namin?”

PADYAK DRIVER

Sa barangay po namin, linya po namin dun, hindi ka pwedeng kumuha. May ganun pong part dati ah. Ngayon po, wala na po.

MANANALIKSIK A

Sa lahat na?

PADYAK DRIVER

Kahit saan ka makakuha, wala nang sisita. Wag lang yung tipong may nakapila tapos yung nakapila, may pasaherong kukunin. Ang tawag na po dun ay buwaya.

MANANALIKSIK B

Sir, ano yung buwaya ulit?

PADYAK DRIVER

Buwaya yung kumbaga, kuha ka lang ng kuha ng pasahero kahit alam mong may mga sidecar na nakapila.

MANANALIKSIK A

Parang swapang no?

PADYAK DRIVER

Opo parang ganon.

MANANALIKSIK B

Pero Sir, sabi niyo kanina walang pila. Kailan po nagkakaroon ng pila?

PADYAK DRIVER

Kada kanto naman po kasi, Sir, meron na. Tsaka yung ibang part ng kanto, Sir, hindi po siya totally inanuhan ng Intramuros Administration na. Kunyari, yung isang kanto, bawal kayo dyan. Sa ganito lang kayo pwede, sa barangay niyo. Ganun lang po.

MANANALIKSIK B

Tapos po Sir, pero wala naman po kayong nakaalitan dati? Yung ganyan?

PADYAK DRIVER

Wala naman po.

MANANALIKSIK A

Sir, meron din po bang mga babaeng pedicab drivers?

PADYAK DRIVER

Meron po. Yung kapatid kong tomboy. Nagsa-sidecar din po.

MANANALIKSIK A

Paano po siya naging pedicab driver din? Kayo po ba ang... sino ang nauna sa inyo?

PADYAK DRIVER

Siya po ang nauna sa akin e.

MANANALIKSIK A

Tapos po nainfluence na lang po kayo na sinabi, “Uy, okay naman dito.”

PADYAK DRIVER

Ganun nga po ang nangyari.

MANANALIKSIK B

So dalawa po kayo sa pamilya niyo po?

PADYAK DRIVER

Oo, kaming dalawa ang nagsa-sidecar.

MANANALIKSIK B

Pero Sir, nandito rin po ba siya nakatira?

PADYAK DRIVER

Hindi kasi ako nangungupahan lang ako. Yung kapatid kong tomboy na nagsa-sidecar, tuwing weekend po, umuuwi po siya ng Montalban, Rizal.

MANANALIKSIK B

Taga-Rizal po ba talaga kayo?

PADYAK DRIVER

Na-relocate kami, kasi yung ibang part dito sa Intramuros, giniba.

MANANALIKSIK A

Bakit giniba, Sir?

PADYAK DRIVER

Naku, mahirap na. Basta, noong WOW Philippines pa yun!

Sandaling katahimikan.

PADYAK DRIVER

Ayan ang USA—barangay namin! Yun—yun, bahay namin.

MANANALIKSIK A

Magkano po renta niyo?

PADYAK DRIVER

1300. Bale lahat lahat, 1500—tubig, kuryente.

MANANALIKSIK B

Bukod po sa kapatid niyo, may iba pa po ba kayong kilalang babaeng nagpe-pedicab driver?

PADYAK DRIVER

Meron, kaso di ko po kilala talaga... kilala ko po sa mukha pero di ko po alam yung full name.

MANANALIKSIK B

Ano rin po ba sila... lesbian din po ba sila or minsan babae talaga?

PADYAK DRIVER

Hindi e. Talagang lesbian. Meron din pong bakla.

MANANALIKSIK B

Talaga po? Paano niyo nalalaman Sir?

PADYAK DRIVER

Kilala naman namin e. Halos kababata naman namin. Once nasa biyahe, di ho sila... yung kasuotan nila hindi yung pambabae. Tuwing gabi. Change outfit!

Sandaling katahimikan.

MANANALIKSIK A

Ano po ito? Light and Sound Museum?

PADYAK DRIVER

Light and Sound Museum. Open na po siya pero ngayon ay hindi.

MANANALIKSIK A

Nakapasok na po kayo dyan?

PADYAK DRIVER

Hindi pa po. Pag bago ang mga pupuntahan dito—hirap ligawan ang mga may-ari.

MANANALIKSIK A

Ah gano'n po ba...?

Sandaling katahimikan.

MANANALIKSIK A

Nakapasok na kayo sa mga museum dito.

PADYAK DRIVER

Aba siyempre. Nakilala ko unang asawa ko sa museum. Tagakuha ng tiket.

Sandaling katahimikan.

MANANALIKSIK B

Eh sir, (*mapapaisip sandali*) may karanasan na ba kayo sa mga bakla? (*Mapapalunok ang Mananaliksik A. At tititigan ng masama ang Mananaliksik B*).

PADYAK DRIVER

Ano po yun?

MANANALIKSIK B

Ay ibig ko pong sabihin—

PADYAK DRIVER

Ayos lang. Pag sinabi kong wala, sinungaling naman na ako!

Papasok ang Sorbetero. Sisigaw ng ice cream, ice cream!

MANANALIKSIK B

Ay hindi po ganon ang ibig kong sabihin—mga padyak driver po, kung may tomboy, may mga bakla ba.

PADYAK DRIVER

Marami kaming pasahero—kung driver—ay hindi ko alam pero may mga pinaghihinalaan din—

Makikita ang façade ng San Agustin Church. Bababa ang Mananaliksik A sa pedicab. Lalabas ang pedicab driver at ang Mananaliksik B.

FLASH SA SCREEN: “Dirty Ice Cream” ng San Agustin

MANANALIKSIK A

“Dirty Ice Cream” ng San Agustin (*Lalabas*).

SORBETERO

Apa? Bente. Wafer cone—trenta. Keso, tsokoleyt, abukado. (*Mapapabuntung hininga*). Hirap din magtinda, mabuti na rin lang nauna ako dito. Pag nagsabay-sabay na, paalisin na rin ako. Ewan ko ba ang init ng ulo nila sa mga hindi taga-rito. (*May akmang customer*). Ice cream, ser? Mam? (*Sandaling katahimikan*). Mabait naman sila minsan. (*Sandaling katahimikan*). Yun nga lang madalas, ay para silang guwardya sibil ba. Kulang na lang costume. Hindi ko talaga maintindihan kung bakit galit na galit sila sa mga kagaya kong hindi taga looban. Magugulat ka, bigla kang kakausapin—siguro pa dahil babae ako tapos karamihan

sa kanila mga lalaki. Oo, magugulat ka na lang. Susugurin ka talaga. Sasabihan ka na inagawan daw ng suki. (*Sandaling katahimikan*). Tapos minsan may sumusugod at naniningil dahil hindi daw ako nagbigay ng sukli. Kahit anong paliwanag ko na binigay na nga ang sukli, nang-aaway pa rin talaga sila. Naghahanap talaga sila ng mababatong mali. Gusto ko nga silang tanungin minsan, may permit ba kayong magbenta? Kasi ako alam ko humingi ako ng permit sa admin. (*Papasok muli ang Mananaliksik A at Mananaliksik B. Bibili ng ice-cream*).

MANANALIKSIK A

Sa tinapay yung akin, ate!

MANANALIKSIK B

Wafer po ako!

SORBETERO

Anong flavor yung sa tinapay?

MANANALIKSIK A

Ano po itong green?

SORBETERO

Abukado yan.

MANANALIKSIK A

Ito mangga?

SORBETERO

Keso naman yan.

MANANALIKSIK A

Ah, chocolate na lang.

MANANALIKSIK B

Ang labo.

MANANALIKSIK A

Di ako makeso—migraine. Tapos fatty daw ang avocado eh.

MANANALIKSIK B

Fatty? Ice cream yan, teh!

MANANALIKSIK A

Lesser evil kasi tawag d'yan! (*Ibibigay na ng sorbetero ang tinapay sa Mananaliksik A*).

SORBETERO

Kayo?

MANANALIKSIK B

Ate, lahat ng flavor.

MANANALIKSIK A

Kanina pa kami naghahanap ng ice cream, buti na lang napadaan kami dito.

SORBETERO

Hirap din maghanap talaga ng p'westo kasi.

MANANALIKSIK A

Magkano yung akin, ate?

MANANALIKSIK B

Sa 'yo lang?

MANANALIKSIK A

Aba—may allowance ka rin di ba?

MANANALIKSIK B

Hoy, ang cheap mo—ito na lang hindi mo pa malibre. Nilibre kita ng lunch?

MANANALIKSIK A

Ay grabe, sumbat? Sumbat? (*Iaabot na ang wafér cone sa mananaliksik B*).

SORBETERO

Forty lahat.

MANANALIKSIK A

Ako na nga. Hawakan mo ito. (*Iaobot ang ice cream sandwich sa Mananaliksik B upang kumuha ng pera sa kanyang bulsa*).

MANANALIKSIK A

Hawakan mo lang, huwag mong kakainin.

MANANALIKSIK B

Sama ng ugali!

MANANALIKSIK A

Ate, bayad po. (*Iaobot ang singkwenta pesos*). Okay na po.

SORBETERO

Ay salamat, salamat.

MANANALIKSIK B

Milagro! (*Kukunin na muli ng Mananaliksik A ang kanyang ice cream sandwich sa Mananaliksik B. Lalabas sila ng entablado*).

SORBETERO

Pero mas hindi ko kinakaya yung sila-sila nagaaway. Sila na lang mag-away utang na loob. ‘Wag na kaming idamay. Sabi ko sa sarili ko, pagdating ng panahon babawalan din mga yan. Mabilis naman ang karma. Sila nga pag di Pinoy, nagp-presyo—ice cream na nga lang. Bawal yun! Biruin mo tinapay trenta bentsinko eh bente lang yun. Pagdating sa intra, kinse benta namin bente, kinse yung ganito, kinse, ito trenta, ito trenta. (*May papasok na manananghal. Dadaan at sisilipin ang laman ng ice-cream*). Ano sa yo? Ito sampu, ito bente, ito kinse. Anong flavor? (*Biglang iiling ang customer at lalabas ng entablado*). Ano na nga ang sinasabi ko. Oo nga, tanong mo nga. Yung asawa ko sa Leyte siya. Ako dito lang sa Maynila kasi wala namang gagawin dun. Ayoko sa bahay na nakatiwangwang. Yung kapatid ko malalayo,

may asawa na halos nasa probinsya. Yung mga asawa nila ‘dun din sila nakatira. Ako lang ‘andito sa Maynila. Ayoko talaga dun. May kamag-anak ako dyan sa Bangkusay. D’yan may mga kamag-anak ako. (*Sandaling katahimikan*). Oo sa ice cream-an din kami nagkakilala ng asawa ko. Ang laki na ng naitulong nito lalo sa mga taong mga maninindang katulad ko. Totoo lang yun ang napapansin ko, sabi ko buti dito hindi ma-ano, yung gaya nung iba hindi pwede ‘di ba kaya kung may oras na alis ka alis na dapat. Tapos pag wala nang tao dito, game p’westo kaagad. ‘Pag meron tatanungin muna kung p’wedeng tumabi. Kung ayaw—alis na lang ako. Ayoko ng gulo. Kanina nga, ano oras na kami nakatinda—may dumaan diyan na raid nag-ikot sila hanggang dun sa dulo ng pader. Tapos lumundag pa dun ikot na naman yan. Dalawa ikot sila pagdating dito sa labas yun wala na. Na-stress kami—(*Sandaling katahimikan. May mapapansin mula sa malayo. Makikita ang pangamba sa kanyang mga kinikilos*). Ay heto na nga... kita mo, anim sila, mga kalalakihan pa lahat. Minsan sana isipin din nila na sana magtulungan na lang. Parepareho naman kaming naghahanap buhay. (*Mabilis na lalabas sorbetero at papasok ang dalawang estudyante—mga OJT bilang mga tour guide sa Intramuros. Ang mga tinu-tour nila ay ang Mananaliksik A at Mananaliksik B.*)

ESTUDYANTE A

Plaza Moriones! The plaza used to be a public square until the Spanish Guardia Civil fenced it off in 1864 after an earthquake. The space takes its name from the 87th Spanish Governor General of the Philippines, Domingo Moriones y Murillo.²

FLASH SA SCREEN: **Kung Papaano maging Tour Guide sa Intramuros**

MANANALIKSIK B

Kung papaano maging tour-guide sa Intramuros!

MANANALIKSIK A

Ano ba ang ibig sabihin ng square?

ESTUDYANTE B

Ano yun, yung parang sa labas ng simbahan dun sa may cathedral.

MANANALIKSIK B

Eh si Moriones?

ESTUDYANTE B

Moriones was a tough veteran of the Carlist Wars in Spain; upon his arrival in 1877, he ended a mutiny by decimating the rebellious regiment.³

MANANALIKSIK B

Ah, so ibig sabihin rebelde?

ESTUDYANTE A

Ammm... ganon na nga. Anyway, Itong mga wall na nakikita niyo sa Western side ng Plaza yan ang Baluartillo de San Francisco Javier. It was formerly used to store military supplies; presently the Intramuros Visitor's Center occupies part of the former storage space in the walls, alongside an art gallery, souvenir shop, and café.⁴

ESTUDYANTE B

Lakad po tayo ng konte—papasok naman tayo sa gate. Actually, wala pa po tayo sa Fort Santiago. Opo, hindi pa tayo nakapasok sa Fort Santiago. (*Mapapansin ng dalawang estudyante na abala ang isa sa mga guide sa pagpipicture sa buong paligid.*)

ESTUDYANTE A

Itong si kuya kanina pa picture ng picture—dada ako ng dada dito hindi man lang nakikinig.

ESTUDYANTE B

Naku, marami ganyan pag nagbibigay na ng tour. Minsan feeling namin dahil sa estudyante lang kami at hindi pa professional tour guides. Alam mo naman may hierarchy din. Pero pansin din naman namin, maski ang mga batikang tour guide hindi na rin sila pinakikinggan.

MANANALIKSIK B

Eh baka naman kasi automatic na lang mga sinasabi niyo kaya ganon ang nangyayari? (*Sabay saway si Mananaliksik A sa kasamahan*).

ESTUDYANTE A

Ano po yun?

MANANALIKSIK A

Ang ibig niyang sabihin baka dapat ibang klase ng story-telling na ang kailangan niyong gawin para makuha ang interes ng mga tinu-tour niyo. Kagaya mo, millennial, maiksing-maiksi ang attention span.

MANANALIKSIK B

Sige, practice tayo ulit... (*Medyo ilang na ang estudyante*).

ESTUDYANTE B

Wala pa tayo sa Fort Santiago. The actual Fort Santiago doesn't begin until you cross the bridge across the moat from Plaza Moriones onto Fort Santiago's doorstep. The intricately carved gate bears the royal seal of Spain and a wooden relief sculpture of St. James, the patron saint of Spain. If you are going to look at it, you will see that the relief sculpture depicts St. James crushing Muslims under his horse's hooves, an image that resonated particularly well with the Spanish conquistadores, who defeated Muslim natives to gain the site of Fort Santiago in battle.

MANANALIKSIK B

May tanong ako? Ano ba ang Intramuros sa inyo?

ESTUDYANTE A

Ano po...

ESTUDYANTE B

Kasaysayan po...

ESTUDYANTE A

Parte po yan ng ating heritage.

MANANALIKSIK B

Malinaw ba sa inyo ang ibig sabihin ng heritage? (*Magtitinginan ang dalawang estudyante*).

ESTUDYANTE A

Kasaysayan po.

ESTUDYANTE B

Pamana rin po.

ESTUDYANTE A

Bahagi din po ng kultura natin. (*Umiling-iling si Mananaliksik B. Sa ilang saglit, biglang magiiba ang ilaw—focus sa dalawang Estudyante. Medyo iba din ang mood. Sa pagkakataong ito, lalabas na ang dalawang Mananaliksik*).

ESTUDYANTE A

Yun na rin nga ‘yun—tungkol sa kultura natin, heritage—culture. Heritage—history! Pero sa totoo lang keber naman talaga yan sa mga bisita namin dito. Lalo pa mga batang estudyante. Madalas assignment namin ay mga nagfi-field trip mula sa probinsiya. Wala naman din talaga silang pakialam sa information na babanggitin namin.

ESTUDYANTE B

Kung high school mga ‘yan, ang gusto lang naman nila ay may mapost sa IG. Paramihan ng like hanggang Facebook. Pag nagtanong na kami kung may question sila after naming magbigay ng very short intro, madalas may magtataas ng kamay at tatanong kung saan ang pinakamagandang place para sa selfie.

ESTUDYANTE A

Pero tanungin mo sila after ng tour, kung anu-ano ang mga site na pinuntahan nila, sasagutin lang nila ay Intramuros. Hanggang do’n lang talaga sila.

ESTUDYANTE B

Ibang usapan naman pag mga elementary students—yung mga bata talaga. Mga four to seven years old. Ito talaga marami interesadong makinig at bibo talaga sila.

ESTUDYANTE A

Iba kasi ang script namin pag mga bata ang kliyente. May question and answer portion talaga. Minsan may mga bata na excited pero mayroon ding atat na atat na makapunta sa next stop.

ESTUDYANTE B

Ang mas malala yung... (*Titigan ang Estudyante A—na para bang humihingi ng go signal. Bibigyan naman ng go signal ang Estudyante B*).

ESTUDYANTE B

Don't quote me ha? Minsan mas malala mga teacher ng mga bata—sila ang sobrang impatient. Kahapon lang, habang nagtotour nga kami, nilapitan kami nung isang teacher para sabihan na 'wag na mahaba ang sinasabi namin dahil trabaho daw nila yun as teacher.

ESTUDYANTE A

Trabaho daw kasi nila ang magturo ng HEKASI sa mga bata. Gawin daw namin trabaho namin as tour guide. (*Magdidilim ang entablado. Maririnig offstage ang teacher at ang mga batang estudyante nito*).

TEACHER

Children, fall in line!

MGA BATA

Yes, teacher!

TEACHER

Sabi nang fall in line, children!

MGA BATA

Yes, teacher! (*Papasok na ang teacher*).

TEACHER

Follow me, children. (*Papasok ang mga student nakapila.. Sa hulihan ng pila ay ang dalawang mananaliksik. Lalabas na ang lahat maliban sa dalawang mananaliksik*).

FLASH SA SCREEN: **Konting Kaalaman**

MANANALIKSIK A

Konting kaalaman!

MANANALIKSIK B

Those who are conceived as the authority of heritage constantly use history of the glorious past as the primary defining framework for etching something as heritage. This identification equates heritage as something significantly valuable, similar to how precious stones such as gold and diamonds are esteemed. While the value of precious stones is often a personal encounter, the value of heritage is commonly a community endeavor.⁵ However, heritage is also a contested sociocultural category, it is dependent on the ways by which positioned actors and institutions would mobilize its meaningful values in such realms as identity politics, commodification of culture as resource, and biocultural diversity advocacies.⁶

MANANALIKSIK A

On the other hand, heritage is also ambiguously articulated through the historiography of selective glorification.⁷ In short, only a selective few canonize something as heritage, which eventually becomes the official heritage without even consulting all involved stakeholders. A more radical take on this matter is a proclamation that there is no such thing as heritage. Therefore, heritage is an ideological construct that helps regulate, maintain, or challenge social relations.⁸

Papasok ang tatlong journalists.

JOURNALIST A

The Intramuros Administration, an attached agency of the Department of Tourism, on March 27 entered into an agreement with the Social Housing Finance Corporation and the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council for the resettlement and relocation of about 500 informal settler families living inside the walled city.⁹ (*FLASH SA SCREEN: Michael Joe Delizo, May 9, 2019, ABS-CBN News*).

JOURNALIST B

The resettlement of the first batch of informal settlers in the walled city of Intramuros will likely be completed by 2021, as the Intramuros Administration finally inks a socialized housing program with relevant government authorities. Security is a priority, and the Philippine National Police- Manila Police District, the Philippine Navy-Naval Reserve Command, and the Philippine National Red Cross will be on-call to ensure the safety and security of tourists.¹⁰ (*FLASH SA SCREEN: Ma. Stella Arnaldo, 16 April 2019, Business Mirror*).

JOURNALIST C

Thousands of informal settlers currently living inside the historical walled city in Manila will be relocated, according to the Intramuros Administration. “By the end of this year, we will be able to resettle some of the informal settlers and by next year baka we will be able to resettle most of them,” said Merceditas de Sahagun, Intramuros Administration finance and administrative Division Chief.¹¹ (*FLASH SA SCREEN: Anonymous, 19 October 2016, Manila Bulletin Online*)

Magpapalit ng ilaw. TALA: flash sa entablado ang mga tala na tila ba may nagtatype sa screen ng isang computer: Intramuros is one of the very few attractions of Manila, so please keep it as a tourist destination and not a dwelling for informal settlers. My father and I walked around the area and got a bit lost and ended up on a street filled with children loitering about. It didn't feel like we were in Intramuros at all. I hope the

tourism office will implement proper zoning. It needs to preserve the spot for those who really want to see how Manila was like during the Spanish occupation. *Fade out the fade in*: A review by a local tourist, Tripadvisor

Papasok ang isang grupo ng mga bata: maglalaro ng tag-tagan. (suggestion: movement piece, children playing local games)

Flash on Screen: **Who's Heritage is it Anyway?**

Papasok ang isang Turistang Banyaga, isang Lokal na Turista, isang security guard na kung tawagin sa Intramuros ay guardia civil at mga bata mula sa informal settler community.

TURISTA (BANYAGA)

Look at those little fellows!

GUARD

Huy! Bawal d'yan! Doon kayo maglaro.

TURISTA

Itong mga batang ito, mga nakakasira sa industriya ng turismo sa Pinas!

BATA 1

Naghahabulan lang po—tag-tagan. Minsan yung labanan ng tsinelas.

GUARD

Parke po kasi 'yan tapos tapat pa ng simbahan, magulo talaga ang mga bata. Ewan ko ba kung nasa'n ang mga magulang nila.

BATA 2

Minsan po tagu-taguan, doon po sa malapit sa hi-way.

BATA 1

Kung nasaan po yung mataas na pader. Madami pong pagtataguan doon.

TURISTA (BANYAGA)

Definitely—kids being kids. They will play. It's a—

LAHAT

Park!

TURISTA

Parke nga—daming mga turista. Ay, tingnan mo yung puti, nakikipagusap sa mga bata. Naku! Ito na ang sinasabi ko. Nasaan ba magulang ng mga batang ito. Baka naman pedo yang mamang ‘yan.

GUARD

Wala naman pong nagbabawal. Pero inuunahan na po naming. Alam niyo naman taga iskwater po—iniwasan lang po natin yung may sumugod na turista sa pulis at magsabing nanakawan kasi kami po ang lagot. Sa awa naman ng Diyos, wala pang insidente ng snatching. Kaya nagbabantay kami.

TURISTA

Oo, itong mga ito, ‘yan ang mga lalaking snatcher. Mukhang di nagagabayan ng mga magulang. Kebata-bata pa nasa labas lang ng bahay.

BATA 2

Mababait po mga turistang—lalo na po mga puti! Mahilig magpapicture at selfie.

BATA 1

Selfie-selfie, selfie tayo! Game game! (*Aakmang magseselfie*). Gano’n!

GUARD

Mahilig din kasing humingi ng pera sa mga turista.

TURISTA (BANYAGA)

I don’t have coins. But I have Fifty Pesos. Share with everyone, okay?

TURISTA

Susmaryosep, nagbibigay na ng pera! Yan na nga ba ang sinasabi ko!

BATA 1

Opo, kasi k'wento ng mga kuya at ate namin, mababait daw mga turista—basta hanapin daw namin singkit o puti.

BATA 2

Lalo na mga puti po!

BATA 1

Yung mga Pinoy...

BATA 2

Masusungit.

GUARD

Minsan kasi, ginagamit sila ng mga magulang nila eh.

TURISTA (BANYAGA)

That one? The bike?

BATA 1

Siyempre, pag nagtanong po, ituturo namin si Tatay.

BATA 2

Tay, tay... may sasakay daw po. Gusto pong makita buong Intramuros.

BATA 1

Mabait po 'yan.

TURISTA

Kung nasa ibang bansa lang tayo, sigurado akong malinis ang mga parke—yung bang behave mga bata.

TURISTA (BANYAGA)

Oh no! Oh, no! They just play there, and of course, the kids being kids will always get dirty. But you know, it is a park! It is a public place for everyone.

TURISTA

Bakit ba hindi kasi sila sinusuway ng mga guard. (*Lalabas ang lahat. Papasok ang Mananaliksik A at Mananaliksik B*).

MANANALIKSIK A

So paano na?

MANANALIKSIK B

Ewan ko!

MANANALIKSIK A

Kanino nga ba ang Intramuros bilang isang heritage space?

MANANALIKSIK B

Una sa lahat, kaninong heritage ba ang kontekstong pinaguusapan natin?

MANANALIKSIK A

Kanya-kanyang heritage?

MANANALIKSIK B

Ewan?! Ang mas mahalagang tanong, may thesis ba tayo? (*Sandaling katahimikan*). Eh ang mga Informal settler?

MANANALIKSIK A

What do you mean? Ikaw nga close na kayo nila kuya padyak!

MANANALIKSIK B

Sipain kaya kita diyan?

MANANALIKSIK A

(*Matatawa sa sagot ni Mananaliksik B*) Ambivalent ako sa totoo lang, pero parte sila ng buong microcosm ng heritage ng Intramuros.

MANANALIKSIK B

Oo eh, part sila ng charm ng buong Intramuros. Kita mo, mas kilala pa nga nila ang buong Intramuros kaysa sa mga taga administration. So sino ang mukha ng Intramuros?

Papasok ang buong ensemble—babalik sa entablado kahawig nang una nilang pagpasok sa simula ng dula. Nakatalikod ang lahat maliban sa dalawang mananaliksik.

MANANALIKSIK A

Huh?

MANANALIKSIK B

Ano ang mukha ng Intramuros?

Isang masayang musika. Lalabas ang dalawang mananaliksik. Haharap ang Estudyante A.

ESTUDYANTE A

Kim, 18 years old. Estudyante. Tourism major. Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila. (*Haharap ang Estudyante B*).

ESTUDYANTE B

Dalawang linggo pa lang po...

ESTUDYANTE A

OJT po. (*Tatalikod ang Estudyante A. Haharap ang Kutsero at sabay magsasalita ng Estudyante B*).

ESTUDYANTE B

Memoryado ko ang script na ginagamit tuwing nagto-tour si Mang Kanor, pinakamagaling na tourist guide dito sa Intramuros.

KUTSERO

Dito na rin tumanda, ngayon puro mga Intsik at mga Koreano ang sumasakay ng kalesa. (*Tatalikod ang Kutsero at ang Estudyante B. Haharap naman muli ang Padyak Driver*).

PADYAK DRIVER

Ikatlong henerasyon sa Intramuros. Kalesa driver si Tatay. Housewife ang nanay. Di ko maalala ang trabaho ng lolo. Tatlong anak, dalawa—panganay. (*Tatalikod ang Kutsero at ang Padyak Driver. Sa puntong ito, nakalabas na ng entablado ang Mananaliksik A at Mananaliksik B. Haharap ang Sorbetero*).

SORBETERO

Madalas pinapaalis ako sa p'westo—(*Haharap ang Direktor, sasabayan ang Sorbetero ang pagsasalita o pagpapakilala nito*).

DIREKTOR

Director III. Naku, nakakahiyang banggitin ang Salary Grade. (*Tatalikod muli ang Direktor. Magpapatuloy ang Sorbetero kasabay ang Padyak Driver at ang Estudyante B*).

SORBETERO

Kasi may mga taga-looban din na nagbebenta ng sorbetes, gano'n. Tsambahan at swertehan din lang.

PADYAK DRIVER

Kailangang kumayod—Grade 7 na panganay dun sa una. Ewan ko ba diyan sa K-to-12 na yan.

ESTUDYANTE B

Idol ko yun, si Mang Kanor. Mapa-Pinoy, Amerikano o Instik, in demand na tour guide. Gusto kong maging ganon. (*Tatalikod ang Sorbetero, Padyak Driver at Estudyante B. Haharap muli ang Direktor at ang Estudyante A*).

DIREKTOR

Hindi naman sila magulo, pero hindi rin naman maikakailala na minsan may gulo dahil din sa kanila.

ESTUDYANTE A

Hindi naman po. Mababait naman ang mga nasa opisina. Pero minsan may mga masusungit din. (*Sa gitna ng pagsasalita ng Direktor at Estudyante A. Haharap muli ang Kutsero. Matapos ang Direktor at Estudyante A, tatalikod ulit sila*).

KUTSERO

May mga Pinoy rin naman na sumasakay, lalo na yung mga balikbayan. Masaya din silang kausap—miss na miss nila Pilipinas, pero madalas kuripot. (*Tatalikod ang Kutsero at haharap muli ang Estudyante A, Estudyante B, Sorbetero*).

ESTUDYANTE A

Naku, bawal pa kasi ang tip-tip. Pero minsan may mga makukulit, tinatanggap na rin namin. Dagdag din po sa allowance. Naku, wag niyo pong ikukuwento sa kanila.

ESTUDYANTE B

Micaela! Ella na lang po, OJT. Pero part-time model din—pose-pose din lang dito din sa Intramuros. Lalo na pag kailangan ng mga photographer.

SORBETERO

Hindi naman sa ano, pero minsan kawawa din kaming mga taga-labas, trabaho lang naman, trabaho lang.

Dahan-dahang mawawala ang mga ilaw. Simultaneously, flash sa dingding ng entablado ang façade ng Fort Santiago.

Wakas.

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Endnotes

- 1 This passage is a quotation from Tiatco (2014, 114).
- 2 This passage (second sentence starting from “The plaza used to be....”) is a quotation from Aquino (2019).
- 3 This line is quotation from MetaTrip (n.d.)’s description of Plaza Moriones.
- 4 This last sentence (in English), as well as the “western side” is a quotation from Meta-Trip (n.d.)’s description of Plaza Moriones.
- 5 This is a quotation from Dela Santa and Tiatco (2019, 302).
- 6 This is a quotation from the Call for Papers of the conference, “Performing Heritage,” held from 23–25 October 2008 in San Fernando, Pampanga, Philippines. See Ugat (2008).
- 7 The phrase, “articulated through the historiography of selective glorification” is a passage from Shetty’s (2004) “Rethinking Heritage: The Case of Heritage Conservation in Mumbai” quoted in Dela Santa and Tiatco (2019, 302).
- 8 This line also quotes, verbatim, from Dela Santa and Tiatco (2019, 302), quoting from L. Smith’s (2008) *Uses of Heritage*, specifically the line “regulate, maintain, or challenge social relations” (15).
- 9 This passage is quoted verbatim from Delizo’s (2019) report.
- 10 This passage is a quotation from Arnaldo’s (2019) report.
- 11 This passage is quotation from MB Online’s (2016) report.

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