AN URBAN MONASTERY AND ITS
GENIUS LOCI

by

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Genius loci has been described as “the spirit of place”.¹ The main interest in considering an urban monastery program is to create a place that embodies the spirit and culture of Tibetan Buddhism in the context of urban Washington, D.C. Given Tibet’s unique culture that has developed over centuries without much Western influence, and its recent history of Chinese rule, religious persecution and infiltration of its language, culture and environment, the challenge of this program is to represent the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism in a modern language of architecture.
Tibet is located on a high plateau in central Asia, surrounded by mountain ranges on three sides. In the southern region, the Himalayas form a natural Tibet-Nepal border. The Himalayas curve around to form most of Tibet’s western side meeting with the jagged Karakorans to form a boundary with India. To the north, the Kunluns outline most of the boundary between Tibet and China’s Qinghai province. The Sichuan and Yunnan provinces of China border eastern Tibet.

The largest region of Tibet is the northern plateau, or Chang Tang, which makes up about two-thirds of its total area. This high, desolate plain is relatively flat, with an average elevation of 15,000 feet. This region has a harsh climate with strong winds, bitterly cold temperatures and low rainfall rate throughout the year. These factors severely limit the establishment of human, plant and animal life.

The other main geographical region of Tibet, the outer plateau, lies along its southern and eastern edges creating a narrow strip with the Himalayas. The temperature and climate are milder, providing a more habitable place for humans, plants and animals. There are many well-developed agricultural regions in this part of Tibet as exemplified by
benevolent and threatening gods peering from murals, alters and thangkas may give the impression that Tibetan Buddhism is a superstitious cult. But behind these images of deities lies the basic teaching of Buddha that all beings can achieve enlightenment.

Tibetan Buddhism belongs to the Mahayana school of Buddhism, which emphasizes the ideal of compassion and the doctrine of emptiness. Practitioners gradually, over many lifetimes, work to attain enlightenment or nirvana and a full understanding of Buddha’s teachings, which releases them from the cycle of death and rebirth. In the Mahayana school of thought, one can receive help from bodhisattvas, the great practitioners who have reached enlightenment and help others to do the same. The reincarnations of buddhisattvas are called tulkus.

Tulkus are discovered as young children and brought to live in the monastery of their predecessors. Tulkus and other highly learned practitioners, including great teachers and doctors of Buddhist philosophy, are called lamas. The present, Dalai Lama, the fourteenth, is the most revered Tulku and is seen as the reincarnation of Chenrezi, the bodhisattva of compassion whom the Tibetans are most devoted to. Of the populous areas such as Lhasa and Shigatse.

With high mountain ranges isolating it from its neighbors, Tibet has developed a unique culture. One of the most influential components of this culture is its religious devotion to Buddhism. This predominant belief system came to Tibet from India during the seventh century, twelve hundred years after the Buddha’s birth and long after the religion had reached China and other lands of the East. In spite of its late arrival, it eventually took a firm hold, uniting a tribal society and opening its doors to the influence of India and a few other neighboring countries. As Tibetan Buddhism developed, it became a complex universe, rich in symbolism, practices, literature and philosophy.

One distinct characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism is the influence of Bon, a native religion which predates the arrival of Buddhism. Bon is rooted in animism, the worship of spirits in nature and natural places such as mountains and lakes. The practitioners of Bon, called Bonpo, have elaborate rituals, at times going into trances to appease gods, battle evil spirits and drive out demons. When Buddhism arrived in Tibet, the Bonpo integrated much of Buddhist deities and doctrines into their own beliefs. Consequently, Tibetan Buddhism became populated with an array of deities from the native Bon as well as from Indian Tantrism. Crowds of
four major Buddhist sects in Tibet, Dalai Lama is the leader of Gelukpa order also known as the “yellow hats”. This order emphasizes the teaching and training of pure doctrine, strict discipline, good moral conduct and places less emphasis on tantrism. The Gelukpa order has remained as the most influential and dominant sect since the first Dalai Lama was chosen in Tibet in 1391. Thus Dalai Lamas governed Tibet as a theocracy for almost six hundred years with a cabinet consisting of monks and secular government officials.4

Throughout history, Tibet and its neighboring countries, China, Mongolia, Manchuria, Nepal and India, have battling for expansion of land and power at times and have peacefully co-existed during others. Specifically, Tibet and China have maintained a relatively peaceful relationship until 1949, when the Chinese communist party overthrew the Nationalistic Chinese government. Having experienced British military presence and traders, as well as American surveyors seeking an overland supply route to China in the early 1900’s, China was ready to claim Tibet as its own. China viewed the presence of foreigners in Tibet as a threat even though they were only a handful of people and no one besides China was claiming Tibet.5

In the autumn of 1950, the People’s Liberation Army led by Mao Zedong invaded Tibet. The Lhasa government appealed to the United Nations, the United States, Britain and India, but no one was willing to acknowledge Tibet’s claim as an independent nation. In May of 1951, China presented Tibet with a 17-Point Plan for the “peaceful liberation of Tibet”. With Chinese armed forces awaiting a command for an attack outside of Lhasa, the Tibetan government had no choice but to sign the agreement. It declared that Tibet would remain autonomous under the “direction” of the central government of China, the existing political system would remain unchanged with the Dalai Lama in charge, and China would take over Tibet’s foreign affairs. Other items on China’s agenda were the development of infrastructure, commercial industries, education, and health care systems.6

Changes took place quickly with the Chinese military presence. Large-scale construction projects started to build power plants and highways which brought military and construction supplies into Tibet. The Chinese government claimed that pre-1951 Tibet was a “a society of feudal serfdom under the despotic theocracy of lamas and nobles, a land where serf owners literally owned the living bodies of their serfs.”7 China
depicted the religious establishment as a chief oppressor of masses. The Chinese saw themselves as the liberators who would break the old system and modernize Tibet for a better future, whereas Tibetans saw them as a threat. The Chinese believed that Buddhist devotion kept Tibetans in ignorance and decided that re-education was necessary to convert them to a people loyal to the Chinese communist creed.

As Tibetans continued to resist the reform, the Chinese grew increasingly impatient. Under the 17-Point Agreement, China had tried to gradually gain control while Tibet did what it could to resist their encroachment. Eventually, the tension grew and finally exploded in March of 1959. Upon discovering an assassination plot to kill the Dalai Lama, he and his supporters escaped Lhasa and began their trek into India. After realizing that the assassination plot may have leaked out, the Chinese bombed the Norbulingka Place in an attempt to kill Dalai Lama and his cabinet, only to discover that he had already escaped. The Chinese then shelled the Potala Place along with other major buildings in Lhasa as the Tibetans fought back with whatever means were available to them. After a few days of hard-fought battle, the Chinese red flag was hoisted over the Potala Place. Tens of thousands of Tibetans crossed under enemy fire as they fled Lhasa and escaped over the Himalayas to India. Once the complete occupation had taken place, China then launched what it called "democratic reforms". Chinese officials disbanded Tibetan government and confiscated all lands from monasteries and upper-class Tibetans. More than six thousand monasteries, some of them over a thousand years old, were demolished. Monks were herded into prison camps and put to work on construction sites. Centuries-old art works were sold to art dealers, gold and silver religious objects were melted down, and ancient manuscripts were burned. All religious practices were banned.

Many thousands of Chinese people were given incentives to relocate to work on Tibet's farms and construction sites. This migration helped to relieve overpopulation in China, but Tibetans found themselves slowly being outnumbered. Chinese men were encouraged to marry Tibetan women and to teach their children only the Chinese language and culture.

In 1966, Chinese reform efforts only got worse as Mao Zedong started to impose his cultural revolution on Tibet. The Red Guards set to wipe out the "four olds" (traditional culture, habit, ideology and customs) and replace them with the "four new" (their socialist counterparts). The Dalai Lama was declared as an enemy of the people. Tibetans were compelled to renounce him and anyone found to have his picture was
sent to jail. Monks and nuns, who often were the ones to protest, were imprisoned, tortured and executed. Many who protested were shot in plain sight to send a clear message that any opposition would not be tolerated. Tibetans were taught Mao’s communist principles. Any counter-revolutionary person was subject to “struggle sessions” which were hours of abuse that were sometimes fatal.9 From 1966 to 1976, not a single prayer flag flew in Tibet. Only Mao’s portrait hung in government offices and in a few of the remaining monasteries’ chanting halls.

After Mao Zedong’s death in 1976, his successors relaxed some of the restrictions in Tibet. Reconstruction began on a few monasteries and people were allowed to practice their religion again, although in a limited manner. As soon as the restraints eased, government officials realized that Tibetans had failed to fulfill Marxist predictions that religion would disappear in the light of science and socialism. Rather, Tibetans demonstrated their fervor through pilgrimages and determined reconstruction of razed temples and monasteries. For a Tibetan, one’s identity is linked to the practice of Buddhism more than to language, geography or any other element of its culture. To be Tibetan is almost synonymous with being a believer. To walk around a holy place turning a prayer wheel, to prostrate oneself before a temple or to replenish butter lamps before an altar is to say, “I am not Chinese, I am Tibetan.”

Some major changes have taken place in Tibet since the Chinese invasion in 1959. The official language has been changed from Tibetan, which belongs to the Tibetan-Burmese language, to the Mandarin dialect of Chinese. Tibetan children have to attend a secular school system taught only in Chinese language. Monasteries no longer serve as an educational institute for the young since the Chinese strictly control the number of monastery students and the minimum age requirement of eighteen years to enter. Since the re-opening of some monasteries, young monks no longer have resources of great teachers or learned lamas, who have been imprisoned, shot after protests or gone into exile. These monasteries have become major tourist attractions, where monks perform chanting and debates to entertain the foreign visitors, with only a memory of what were once great centers of Buddhism.

As the government continues to encourage Chinese migration to the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), native Tibetan culture and language
becomes more diluted. In 1990, a Chinese census claimed that 96% of the 2 million people in the TAR were Tibetan. Outside agencies, however, estimate that this number may be as little as 60%.10

One of the largest industrial sectors of in the TAR is mining. The Chinese have discovered a wealth of minerals and the world’s largest lithium deposits in Tibet. They operate five nuclear bases and its largest intercontinental ballistic missile site. It has also developed manufacturing industries such as ironwork, woodwork and tanning. Currently, there are about two hundred small and medium-sized factories manufacturing machinery, textiles, carpets, mechanicals, and books.11

Deforestation is one the most devastating problems in Tibet. More than 40 percent of its pre-1950 forests have been cut. Forests of oak, elm, ash, juniper, willow, maple and birch trees were very common in the TAR’s south and east. Evergreen species of pine, spruce, fir and hemlock were also plentiful. Most of these forests grew on steep slopes where their roots held the soil in place. Without trees, these slopes suffer severe erosion, landslides and flooding. The loss of the forest has also decreased the populations of native animals as well, including endangered species such as giant panda, red panda, snow leopard, black-neck crane and Asian wild ass.12

The persecution of Tibetans continues to this day as the Chinese government has organized a more discreet form of control on religion with undercover agents placed in monasteries and other Tibetan communities. Since awareness of the Tibetan struggle has increased in the international community, the government allows Tibetans to practice a certain degree of religion in the hopes of convincing the rest of the world of its tolerance. However, because monasteries are the heart of resistance to Chinese rule, the government would ideally like to forbid religious practice all together. But this would alienate the people and encourage total defiance, as well as destroy the profitable tourist industry. On the other hand, complete freedom would allow the monasteries to grow and become the centers of nationalism.13

When the Dalai Lama escaped Tibet in 1959, he and his supporters established a Tibetan government-in-exile in Dharamsala in India. It has been structured to function as a parliamentary democracy. It consists of the Assembly of Elected Representatives, the Supreme Justice Commission and eight administrative departments. There are over 100,000 Tibetans living in forty-six refugee settlements on the Indian subcontinent. Tibetan refugees and their children have settled in thirty-three countries around the world, including Switzerland, France, England,
Australia, Canada, Mexico and United States. Local support groups help them with living arrangements and job placement. In 1990, the U.S. Congress passed a law allowing 1,000 immigrant visas to be issued to Tibetan refugees annually.14

With offices of the Tibetan government-in-exile located in New York City, London, Tokyo, Geneva, Moscow, Budapest and Paris, Dalai Lama and his supporters continue to work on behalf of Tibetan people to gather international support for Tibet's independence. In 1987, Dalai Lama addressed the U.S. Congress's Human Rights Caucus on the plight of Tibet. In this speech, he outlined the Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet. He proposed that: (1) Tibet become a demilitarized “zone of peace” (2) Chinese immigration be stopped (3) basic human rights be restored (4) Tibet's natural resources be protected (5) Tibet and China begin serious discussions about Tibet's future. Sixty seven members of Congress wrote to President Reagan asking him to take an action on Tibet's behalf. The U.S. State Department replied that Tibet is part of China and that the U.S. did not want to risk damaging its relations with China. In 1988, Dalai Lama proposed the same Five Point Peace Plan to the European Parliament in Strasbourg.15 The Chinese government declined to discuss the plan saying that it is a strategy for bringing up the forbidden topic of self-determination. The People's Republic of China continues to open doors wider to the floating population of Chinese immigrants in Tibet while it censures the Dalai Lama at every opportunity, infuriating Tibetans by ignoring their concerns over assimilation and by trampling on their religious and nationalistic pride. Any hope for a solution seems to be a long way off as the Tibetan struggle continues.
In Tibet, religious devotion permeates culture, arts and daily life. Every family hopes to send at least one child to a monastery to become a monk. Since there is no formal education system for Tibetan children, monasteries function as academic, as well as religious and cultural, institutions.

Students enter the monastery at the age of six or seven to learn to read and write. At this time they are introduced to a teacher monk who serves as a mentor. The student monks not only study religion, but also medicine, philosophy and metaphysics. However, not all students continue to go on to higher religious studies; some are trained as cooks, clerks, artisans, scribes or soldiers. For those who take up the role of scholarly monk, religious study can take about twelve years for the fundamental training with an additional seven years or more for an advanced degree, equivalent to a doctorate. A boy who enters monastic life before age ten and is successful in his studies may be about twenty years old by the time he completes his fundamental training and will be approaching thirty by the time he is permitted to take his doctoral examination. This test is conducted in a debate format in Lhasa over several days in front of hundreds of people, pilgrims as well as monks. After receiving a doctorate degree, one can pursue special schools of philosophy, such as teachings of the various tantras and other esoteric doctrines, to which only those with the highest qualifications are admitted.16

For a student monk, each day at the monastery starts with a morning prayer session in the assembly hall before dawn, followed by classes, with some break for meals and exercises, and lasts well into the evening hours. Other monks, whose duties include cooking, administrative services, making crafts and art, farming or up-keeping of the monastery are required to attend less hours of class, but are expected to practice private meditations and study on a daily basis.17

One of the main features of academic study is the debate session in which students are tested on their reasoning and comprehension of religious philosophy. These classes are conducted in the courtyard outside of the assembly hall. The abbot presents a debate topic with a short
lecture and then each class retreats to its allocated space in the courtyard as students begin to debate with each other. Senior students can join in the debates to review their own earlier studies as well as to oversee that the direction of the ongoing debate is in line with studying purpose. Two opposing participants can often use exaggerated body gestures such as clapping, standing up or pacing around, to end a statement or to make a point. Often, the listening crowd agrees or disagrees out loud with the debaters.\textsuperscript{18}

As the monks continue their daily rituals in prayers, meditations, studying and performing their duties, one of their main aims is to live in the service of others. Monasteries are respected for their service to the community in Tibet. Pilgrims and visitors are welcome in monasteries as they spend time in prayers and meditations or visit the monks for spiritual advice.

Monasteries are places of celebrations for the community during the religious and traditional festivals. These are the times when Tibetans come out and celebrate their faith. The first of the major festivals in the lunar calendar is the New Year celebration, Losar, in February. People dress up in their finest clothes and make early morning incense offerings at temples, shrines and monasteries. Monks dressed in masks and elaborately colorful costumes perform cham, which is a ritual dance acting out religious dramas to drive out the evils of the past year and bring in good luck for the new year.\textsuperscript{19}

Three days after New Year, the Great Prayer Festival, Monlan, begins to celebrate Buddha’s victory over his enemies. Large yak-butter sculptures of holy images are displayed in front of monasteries. Crowds of pilgrims and monks gather in the monastery’s courtyard as an image of Martiyea, the Buddha yet to come, is carried in procession. The full moon in May is the time for Sakadawa, or Buddha’s Anniversary festival. The faithful gather at monasteries and temples to celebrate Buddha’s birth, enlightenment and death. A several story high thangka, a scrolled banner with images of Buddha, saints and deities, of Sakayamuni is often hung from roof tops.\textsuperscript{20}

In July, pilgrims climb in prostration to the holy mountains for Chokor Duchen, honoring Buddha’s first sermon. In August, Tibetans celebrate the bathing festival, when people wash themselves and wash clothes in the rivers. Over many centuries, people believed that this tra-
dition would cure affliction and diseases. At the end of the twelfth lunar month, which is in late January, is Year-End Festival. Masked monks in costumes perform cham to gather up all the year’s evil spirits and cast them away.\textsuperscript{21}

In these ways, religious devotion permeates through Tibetan culture, and monasteries serve as educational, religious and cultural institutions.
The site is located on H Street between 13th and 14th Streets in Washington, D.C. Office buildings, hotels, retail shops and a church surround it. The Museum of Women in the Arts and Chinatown are near by. This site was chosen for its location in the middle of an urban center. The gates of Chinatown's entrance are visible from the site symbolizing the delicate political relationship and geographical proximity of China and Tibet.
Another important aspect of having the site in Washington, D.C. is to give Tibet a political presence among embassies of other countries. Since Tibet had a theocratic government and currently the Tibetan Government-in-Exile follows a parliamentary democracy with the Dalai Lama as the leader, this monastery can serve as a satellite office for the Government-in-exile.
In Tibet, when pilgrims make pilgrimages to a temple or holy place, they circumambulate the building in a clockwise direction. They pray while walking around the holy place. Thus, the circulation in this building is clockwise while visiting the ground level chanting hall and temple. As one travels away from the temple by ascending to levels above, he walks in a counterclockwise direction. When descending towards the temple from the upper levels, one walks in a clockwise direction.
The circulation consists of a ramp system that encircles the whole building through the habitable space and the open atrium. This gesture symbolizes the simple walking from one point to another within the building as an act of prayer. One of the devotional practices of Tibetan Buddhism is prostration. It is an act of humbling oneself in meditation in the direction of a holy place or temple by fully stretching out on the ground, rising, stepping to where one’s head had been, and stretching out again, repeating the process all the way to the destination. Creating the ramps as a means to circulate around the building allows for such devotional practices to be exercised by either the monks or the pilgrims.
As a pilgrim enters the building, he will face a long dark corridor lit by many yak-butter lamps on the left. Horizontal slabs of the stone wall protrude in an rhythmic pattern to make shelves for the lamps. On the right side of the corridor, the golden prayer wheels that are partially inserted into the wall await pilgrims to turn them so that hundreds of prayers written on rolled fabric inside can be prayed. Once through the prayer wheel corridor, one enters a light-filled atrium that opens to the sky and wraps the building on the south and west sides.

The entrance to the chanting hall/temple faces south. In the preparatory room, one removes his shoes and places them in a shoe cubby. In the middle of this room, there is a hollow space encased by glass, which holds many hanging ropes where the big wheel transports handicapped persons and freight vertically through the building.

The chanting hall is an open rectangular room with 40 feet high ceilings. The west wall
slightly tapers out to the north at a 4-degree angle. Traditional Tibetan structures were usually built of solid stone and due to compression of solid mass weight, the vertical walls generally tapered inward about 4 degrees. This 4-degree tilt is applied horizontally to the plan of the west wall. This room holds a 30-foot tall figure of Sakyamuni Buddha with other sacred figures along the north wall at the eye level of the monks and pilgrims. The floors are made of leather that wraps up the west and east walls to a height of 6 feet. Steam insulation pipes are inset into the poured concrete floor for heating. The ceiling is adorned with pipes that transfer chanting sounds and incense smoke to the levels above.

After leaving the chanting hall through the preparatory room, one can follow along the atrium’s south glass wall which continues to the west side where half of the ramp system is visible. One can exit the building from here or travel up the ramp to the next level above.
From the ramp wrapping around the atrium, one enters the interstitial space. There is a forest of dancing pipes connecting the chanting hall on the level below, to the gallery space on the level above. All the smoke pipes end their travel here. Since this level has no enclosed walls, fresh air circulates through, removing any remains of incense smoke. However, the sound pipes travel continuously to the next level to introduce the chanting sounds to the gallery space.
Upon entering the gallery space, one notices a room on the west side where yak-butter tea is served to visitors and pilgrims. Next to that room is the gallery space where traditional and contemporary Tibetan art is exhibited. White canvas panels are inset into the west and east walls, which can create small enclaves of spaces when pulled out. The floor is adorned with the tips of the sound pipes from the levels below reverberating the chanting sounds of the monks.
In the library, there are two sections: one for the public and the other for monks only. The lower level serves the general public with books, periodicals, video and audiotapes on Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism in English. The two upper levels hold books and manuscripts on Tibetan Buddhism, philosophy, medicine, and metaphysics in the Tibetan language. This section is reserved for student monks and teachers.
The dining space is where all the monks gather three times a day to commune and socialize. The public is not allowed on this level unless they are invited to share in the communal dining. In the kitchen, all the supplies are transported by the big wheel. Everyone dines at a long communal table. The cook and his assistant monks take care of the cooking and maintenance. Most importantly, they are guardians of stored food so no monks sneak in for a midnight snack.
The main function of the roof is its daily use as a debating court. This is when the monks are tested and questioned on the subjects they have been studying. It can be a grueling experience for a novice monk who is questioned by a teacher and has to defend his answers to a rebutting group of other students.26

The roof space can also be used for religious and traditional festivals where monks can sing, dance and fly kites. The big wheel is located on this level and a monk walks inside to operate it. Prayers are inscribed onto the barrel and the spokes. As with the prayer wheels, this meditative walking inside the big wheel symbolizes the prayers that are prayed with each turn of the wheel. Functionally, this wheel works as an elevator hauling handicapped persons and freight through the building. A monk would also reside on this level to take care of the wheel and the roof.
From the preparatory room, one can enter the world of tantric Buddhist practices. This is where highly devoted monks practice meditations and prayers that sometimes take them into trances to discern spirits, battle demons and appease gods. This is where the in-between world can be called upon.
This section shows the rhythmic arrangement of windows and entrances to the monks' living quarters as well as the height of the open atrium. Differing light conditions and climates of seasons would give this open space an ever-changing atmosphere. The glass blocks that cover the atrium floor allow the light to reflect off the golden prayer wheels to brighten the underground level during certain times of the day.
This section shows the ramp system and the details of the windows and stairs in the monks’ living quarters. It also outlines the vertical shaft and large rooftop wheel.
In this collage, the use of color portrays the character of different spaces in the building. The colorful composition of geometric configurations denotes the spatial relations of these rooms as seen in a section.

The red rectangular boxes represent the living quarters of monks. Each level has two resident monks. The duties of these monks are to keep and maintain the designated level.
The drawing on the left is the section that shows the main interior of the building. The chanting hall, interstitial level, gallery, library and dining spaces are located in the middle of the building. The monks' living quarters are placed at both ends on each level. The debating court is on the roof and prayer hall is on the underground level. One element that anchors these levels is the large, rooftop prayer wheel with a dumbwaiter shaft that extends vertically throughout the building.