A STUDY OF THE TIGARE SHRINE AT PEPEASE, KWAHU

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Alexander Adu Opusuo hereby declare that except for references and quotations of other scholars’ works duly cited, this dissertation herein presented is the result of my research work carried out at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies of University of Ghana and it has neither in whole nor part been presented elsewhere. I therefore, accept full responsibility for the work.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Tigare shrine at Pepease, Kwahu. It reviews the background of the study area taking into consideration the location and history of Pepease-Kwahu. It also reviews some shrines in Ghana and compares the material with the data gathered from the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu. The traditional beliefs of the people of Kwahu and then some customary practices observed by the people of Pepease-Kwahu are also discussed. Relying heavily on ethnographic data and literary material from secondary sources, the study documented the Tigare shrine at Pepease consisting of its history, material legacies, the feasts celebrated at the shrine, the paraphernalia and significance. By recording the by-laws of the Tigare shrine, the initiation processes or procedures and the material objects associated with it, the study highlights elements not recorded in the earlier scholarly works. It has also discussed the significance or functions of Pepease Tigare including its benevolence and anti-witchcraft connection.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Mr. Emmanuel Frimpong Opusuo.
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Shrines are indispensable in the indigenous religious system and spiritual consultation of Africans in general and Ghanaians in particular (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). Hence, almost every geographical location in Ghana has a shrine.

The etymology and derivative word for shrine in Latin is “scrinium” which means a case for a book or papers. The Microsoft Student Encarta Dictionary defines a shrine as “A sacred place of worship associated with a holy person or event” (Pallardy, 2009:990). According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, “A shrine is a place regarded as holy because of its association with a divinity or sacred person” (Hornby, 1948:1097). The Cambridge Dictionary defines a shrine as “A place for worship that is holy because of its connection with a holy person or object” (Walter, 1995:1330). Considering the three definitions, it is realised that the word holy is seen in all.

Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in the Gold Coast and their subsequent introduction of Christianity in the 15th century AD, the people of the region of modern Ghana had respect for African traditional shrines where deities were venerated but now most Ghanaians have lost respect for these shrines because of Christianity and Islam. However, in spite of all that, the people of Pepease-Kwahu still venerate and have interest in traditional shrines where they venerate deities. One of these shrines is the Tigare shrine.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

1.1.1 LOCATION

Pepease is located in the Kwahu East District in the Eastern Region of Ghana. It is 4.8 kilometres from the district capital, Abetifi and 196 kilometres from Accra, the national
capital. Pepease is surrounded by towns such as Abetifi, Bukuruwa and Afram Plains landscape (Koranteng 1997: 24).

Vegetatively, Pepease lies within the semi-deciduous forest zone. The vegetation is dense in terms of tree coverage with most trees shedding off their leaves in the dry season (Dec, 2013). The forest areas at Pepease have trees of economic value such as Odum (Milicia excelsa), Wawa (Triplochiton scleroxylon) and Sapele (Entandrophragma cylindricum). However, due to factors such as shifting cultivation, lumbering, and over-grazing, the natural vegetation of Pepease-Kwahu has been altered (Esien, 2010:5).

The soil consists of fine sandy loam and non-gravel sandy clay with appreciable amount of humus making it possible for the production of cash crops such as cocoa, ‘yam’, plantain and cassava. Agriculture is the basis of the economy of Pepease. Majority of the people are farmers. Agricultural activities of the town centre on cash cropping, food cropping and livestock rearing. Vegetables like tomatoes, pepper and garden eggs are cultivated (Esien, 2010:6).

Figure 1: Map of Pepease
Source: From Survey Department
Demographically, the population size of the town is 2,815 people (Abankwa Ababio, personal communication, June 15, 2015). It is predominantly a Christian town. Formal education in this town is provided by both private and public sectors with the public sector dominating. (Esien, 2010:23). The only private school in the town is Calvary Basic School. The public schools in the town were established by missions such as Catholics and Presbyterians.

1.1.2 HISTORY

The town Pepease was named after the drought resistant “pepea trees” scientifically known as *Margaritaria discoidea* (see Plate 2 for the picture). The name Pepease simply means under the “pepea tree” (Paul Boateng, personal communication, April 17, 2015).

The township of Pepease was founded in AD 1705 by Nana Ampadu Kyere Daduam I, occupant of two stools, namely the Kyidomhene stool and the Twenedurase stool (Koranteng 1997:23). Nana Ampadu Kyere Daduam I was a son to Akua Dawa. He became chief of both Pepease and Twenedurase. Later, he had to leave the Twenedurase stool to his nephew Obeng Ofosu (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015).

Nana Ampadu Kyere Daduam who was a hunter by occupation made the site where he founded Pepease his hunting rest place because it was less humid and wet as compared to Twenedurase. The area where he founded Pepease has a grass shrub by name ‘nton’ in abundance. ‘nton’ was used to manufacture mats ‘ntonkete’ which were useful trading commodity. At the beginning, he was conveying the grass shrub to Twenedurase but later on he decided to settle at the site where he founded Pepease (Koranteng 1997:24). Ampadu Kyere Daduam belonged to the Bretuo clan. He and his family first settled under the “Santa tree” at Pepease close to a brook called Akumasum. Due to that, he and his family were called “Santase Bretuo” (Abankwa Ababio, personal communication, June 15, 2015). This indicates that trees played great roles in the history of Pepease. The name of the stool of
Pepease is Ampadu stool and the divisional wing in Kwahu is Kyidomhene. (Abankwa Ababio, personal communication, June 15, 2015). The Ampadu stool of Pepease is the property of the Santase Bretuo clan. After the death of Nana Ampadu Kyere Daduam, a stool was consecrated for him. After the death of Nana Ampadu Kyere Daduam, Pepease was ruled by Kwame Ayirepe.

The succession continued until it got to the turn of Nana Owusu Mensah II. His reign saw modern architectural buildings at Pepease (Paul Boateng, personal communication, April 17, 2015). He introduced compulsory education for all children of school-going age (Koranteng 1997:35). The Presbyterians at that time had established a middle school at Pepease (Eric Boahene, personal communication, June 10, 2015). His reign was significant because Tigare was brought during his time. He died in April, 1950. He was succeeded by Nana Ampadu Kyere II. Nana Ampadu Kyere II became chief of Pepease on April 15, 1950 (Kyei, 2010). His reign witnessed the building of a three–storey palace structure at Pepease (see Plate 1 for the picture). His reign witnessed the construction and tarring of the main streets at Pepease (Paul Boateng, personal communication, April 17, 2015). It was also during his period of reign that a clinic was built at Pepease. His reign also witnessed the building of a post office, public places of convenience, a lorry park, a community centre and a market. It was during his reign that a library complex and a cultural centre were built by Mr. Stephen Brenya. Also, a rural bank and a senior high school were established in the town during his reign. Estate houses were also built in the town. Bore-holes were again constructed through the aid of Rt. Rev. Daniel Agyei Koranteng, a moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana during his time. Nana Ampadu Kyere II ruled for sixty-three years and died in October, 2013 (Abankwa Ababio, personal communication, June 15, 2015). His death has been followed by succession disputes.
Plate 1: Pepease Palace
Source: Researcher, 2015

Plate 2: Drought resistant “pepea trees”
" Source: Researcher, 2015
1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu has not been adequately documented. Although, Stephan Miescher and D. A Koranteng have written about the origins and significance of the shrine in their books *Making Men in Ghana* and *The Story of Pepease* respectively, it is not elaborate. In their books, they both stated that Tigare was brought to Pepease from Yipala. What is missing in their books included the following. In the first place, Koranteng only stated one function of Tigare which was his fight against witchcraft. Miescher also stated that function of Tigare and added two additional ones including ensuring prosperity in business and then curing infertility in women (Miescher 2015:175; Koranteng 1997:50).

Finally, the institutional memory of Pepease Tigare is almost lost due to the fact that a lot of the contemporaries of Kwasi Mawu who witnessed the arrival of the deity from Yipala are dead (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). These people included Kwadwo Tano, the first spokesperson of the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu, Okyeame Kwabena Asante, the spokesperson of Pepease Tigare shrine in the 1960s and Kwaku Marfo who was once ‘Kwahu Nsumankwahene’, that is the caretaker of royal charms, amulets and talisman of Kwahumanhene (Eric Boahene, personal communication, June 10, 2015). Even Kwasi Mawu himself who brought Tigare from Yipala is dead. It must be noted that these people are the repositories of knowledge about the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu. It is quite unfortunate that most of the people who inherited these dead people did not learn the oral history of the shrine. A lot of those who witnessed the arrival of the deity from Yipala had it not been their death would have been repositories of information about the shrine.

1.3.1 AIM

The main aim of the research is to document the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu. This documentation has become necessary because, it will help people to acquire knowledge about
the shrine through learning. In order to achieve the aim of the research, several objectives were set.

1.3.2 OBJECTIVES

This study has the following objectives.

The first objective is to document the Tigare shrine at Pepease - Kwahu.

To identify the material culture associated with the Tigare shrine.

To understand the operations of the Tigare shrine.

To educate people on the Tigare shrine by way of the documentation.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions would be asked.

Why do people not have interest in cultural documentation?

Why are people ignorant about the Tigare shrine?

Why is the institutional memory of Pepease Tigare almost lost?

Aside from the research questions, it is important for learners to acquire knowledge about the methodology of the research.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

In writing this thesis both qualitative and quantitative approaches were employed. The qualitative approach helped to dive deep into the problem investigated while quantitative approach was used to quantify the problem investigated by way of generating numerical data.

Research methods such as informal interviews, photography, direct observation and ethnography were also used. The qualitative approaches used were in-depth interviews, focus group interview and then direct observation. The quantitative approaches used were printed questionnaire and then face to face interview.

This topic was chosen because Mr. Eric Boahene, a regular attendant of Pepease Tigare shrine suggested that the institutional memory of the Tigare shrine at Pepease was gradually
being lost due to inadequate documentation of the shrine. It was decided that adequate documentation would be done in order to avoid this loss.

The research began when the researcher went to the shrine. It became known that the shrine is located at Bosomfotia, a suburb at Pepease. Through that, the priest in charge of the shrine and his spokesperson were seen and spoken to. They were informed about the research on the shrine. The deity Tigare was housed by the priest in one of his rooms.

The second methodology used was informal interview. With this, a total of one hundred and seven (107) people were interviewed about the shrine. The ages of the interviewees range from sixteen to eighty-five. They included priests, assembly members, and elderly people, those who consult the shrine, teachers, bankers, health workers, students, farmers, catechists, barbers and drivers. With the qualitative approach employed, a total of twenty-seven (27) interviewees were interviewed. With the quantitative approach employed, a total of eighty (80) interviewees were interviewed for the purpose of data collection (see Chapter Three for the details). The first person to be interviewed was the priest in charge of the shrine. After that, his spokesperson was interviewed. Also, some inhabitants of Pepease and sub-chiefs of the town were interviewed. Key among these people were Teacher Boateng who has lived in the town for forty years, Mr. Jacob Asante who has stayed in the town since 1965 and then Mr. Adu Boadi who stayed at Pepease in the 1970s.

Aside from that, thirty (30) questionnaires were administered to people who are all inhabitants of Pepease-Kwahu due to high illiteracy rate in the town as well as few literature available and then few people having interest in the research topic. The answers given by those who answered the questions were different, the same and similar. The answers to the questionnaire were verified based on majority views (see Chapter Three (3) for detailed discussion.

Furthermore, photography was employed to capture the visual images of the palace of Kwahu Kyidomhene, the drought resistant ‘pepea trees’ scientifically known as *Margaritaria*
discoidea, Tigare, the priest in charge of the shrine, the main residence of Kwasi Mawu and then Tigare Agofomma who sing songs and back them with drums at the shrine.

Moreover, direct observation was employed as a research method. Personally, I have gone to the shrine over twenty times and have witnessed some of the activities done at the shrine. These include how libation is made at the shrine, how Akwasidae is celebrated there and how Tigare Agofomma sing their songs and back them with drums (see Plate 6 for the picture).

Finally, ethnography was used as a research method. With this, emic and etic approaches were used. Emic approach was used to obtain data on the Tigare shrine from the perspective of those at the shrine especially members of the cult. Etic approach on the other hand was used to obtain data from the perspective of those who are not members of the Tigare cult (see Chapter Three for detailed discussion of ethnography).

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This study is very important since it will be the first adequate documentation of the Tigare shrine at Pepease Kwahu. Although Stephan Miescher and Daniel Agyei Koranteng have written on the Tigare shrine, they did not elaborate on it. They both stated the origin of the shrine peripherally and discuss the significance.

Secondly, it will add to the limited knowledge people have about the shrine. It is quite unfortunate that a lot of the inhabitants of the town including some sub-chiefs and educated people have inadequate knowledge about the shrine. Customarily, these people are supposed to be repositories of knowledge about the shrine. If they acquire adequate knowledge about the shrine, when researchers of the shrine consult them, they can give them adequate information.

Furthermore, this study is significant because it will serve as a reference book for current and future generation. Thus, it will be an information source book which any researcher can refer to. This will ease research. It will also inspire people to do further research especially those who think the information on the Tigare shrine is inadequate. Since information on Pepease
Tigare shrine through this research would be made available, if a researcher is dissatisfied with the information provided, he can do further research so as to contribute to knowledge.

Also, this study will help in the preservation of the institutional memory of the Tigare shrine at Pepease- Kwahu (Weissman 2014). The fact is that a lot of the inhabitants who witnessed the arrival of the deity from Yipala are dead. These people customarily are the repositories of knowledge about the Tigare shrine of Pepease-Kwahu. Their death implies loss of institutional memory of the shrine. The history and activities of the shrine were not documented by those dead people so they were stored in their memories in the form of oral history.

Finally, this research is significant because it will help researchers to do comparative study. Thus, if a researcher wants to compare Tigare to another deity, it will be easy since information on Tigare shrine is already available..

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study has been organised into five chapters.

Chapter one examines the general introduction to the study taking into consideration the location and history of the study area, the statement of problem, the aim and objectives of the research as well as research methodology and significance of the research.

The next chapter reviews literature on shrines particularly in Ghana. With this review, some shrines in Northern Ghana are examined. The study also reviews the ‘Brakune shrine’ and ‘Afirim Di Atuo shrine’ all at Pepease Kwahu. It again reviews the traditional beliefs and customary practices observed by the people of Kwahu especially Pepease. It also examines both the pre-Tigarean and post-Tigarean eras at Pepease (see Chapter Two for detailed discussion).

Chapter three focuses on the methodology of the work which includes how data was collected and analysed.

Chapter four examines the findings and discussions of the research.
Chapter five which is the final chapter discusses the summary and conclusion of the work. It also offers suggestions or recommendations and challenges of the work.
CHAPTER TWO

TYPES OF SHRINES AND CUSTOMS IN GHANA

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Ghanaian shrines are signposts that help in understanding and reading of ethnic, territorial and social lay on the lands of Ghana. Shrines on African landscape help in shaping and marking out the limits of villages, communities and ethnic boundaries (Dawson, 2009: vii). Shrines are containers for the spirit of ancestors and deities who are pacified for reasons such as blessings, requests for intercession and then divine sanction. These spirits are venerated with offerings such as hard alcohol, money, food and sacrificial fowls. African shrines may appear in the form of material objects such as ceramics, pots, shaped stones, constructed buildings, houses, tombs, gravesides and assemblages of rocks. They can also be natural features of the landscape such as mountains, ponds and lakes (Dawson, 2009: xii). Every shrine in Ghana has its priest who takes care of the shrine and worships the god. Shrines can be seen in every town or village since they play important roles in the lives of Ghanaians. Ghanaian shrines are associated with items such as bones, bottles of schnapps used in making libations, sticks, cola nut, knives, kaolin, cudgels, cowries, native juju called “dufa” in Akan and cloths (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). There are also certain taboos and rituals connected to those who serve or worship at shrines.

This chapter has two sections. Section one discusses four categories of shrines in Ghana. These are earth shrines, ancestral shrines, chiefly shrines and then a community shrine. The second section focuses on the traditional beliefs of the people of Kwahu and then some customary practices observed by the people of Pepease-Kwahu. It also reviews both the pre-Tigarean and post-Tigarean eras at Pepease-Kwahu.

2.1 EARTH SHRINES

Earth shrine is important to the people living in the northern part of Ghana. An example of earth shrine is the Nyoo shrine among the Tallensi people of Northern Ghana. Nyoo is a large
sacred grove which functions as an earth shrine. It is used as a dancing ground during the Gologo, an agricultural festival from late February to early April each year (Fortes 1987:34). Nyoo is one of the most important earth shrines currently used by the Tallensi people. It is under the jurisdiction of the Talis who provide the earth priest of the shrine. The Talis are the autochthonous Tallensi. 

Another type of this shrine is Earth shrine among the Kokomba people. The earth is an important symbol of fertility of the Kokomba people (Dawson 2009:80). The Kokomba people do not personify the earth as a deity; rather, they engender the earth as a female (Manoukian 1951:83) Earth shrines among the Kokomba people are important because they help people to understand the territory, chieftaincy and clanship of the Kokomba people. Earth shrines help the Kokomba people to petition the earth for good harvest. Earth shrines also help the Kokomba people to properly venerate their ancestors (Dawson 2009:81).

2.2 ANCESTRAL SHRINES

Ancestral shrines are shrines for the veneration of dead ancestors. Ancestral shrines are important to the Kokomba people. In southern Kokomba or Bimotiev territory, small red clay pots which are covered with calabashes positioned at the centre of a family compound and then served with the blood of a white fowl and pito (sun-fermented millet beer) which is poured as libation serve as ancestral shrines. These pots which are used as an ancestral shrine are placed at the centre of a family compound by an official known as Gbondaan, a spiritual leader.

Another ancestral shrine is Tonna’b among the Tallensi people of Northern Ghana. Tonna’b is a form of rock shelter within a piece of woodland. Tonna’b hates evil and it is good at identifying witches and also has benevolent and curative powers (Allman, Jean and Parker 2005:50). It has curative powers because it helps in curing infertility among barren women.

2.3 CHIEFLY SHRINES
These are the most important shrines in the society mostly owned by chiefs. These shrines include ‘Afirim Di Atuo’ shrine at Pepease-Kwahu and the first Tigare shrine at Abetifi-Kwahu.

Afirim Di Atuo’ was a deity that protected people from gun shots. It is considered as a chiefly shrine because it was the official deity for Kwahu Kyidomhene before the arrival of Tigare from Yipala. It was brought to the town during the reign of Nana Dankyi Payin by his son Yaw Berko. The purpose of the introduction of ‘Afirim Di Atuo’ was to help the inhabitants of Pepease in times of war. The introduction of the deity came with “Afirim medicine” which was meant to be used for washing the warriors of Pepease before going to the battlefield (Koranteng 1997:52). It was believed that if warriors wash in the ‘Afirim medicine’, they would be protected from gun shots (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). At the exclamation of “Afirim ee!”, the gun or the cudgel of the enemy broke into pieces.

Another important chiefly shrine was the first Tigare shrine at Abetifi which was established on November 18, 1944. It was set up on the left side of the Abetifi -Nkwatia road. It was a chiefly shrine because it belonged to the then Adontenghene of Kwahu, Ntiri Amposam (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). It was brought to Abetifi from Yipala in Northern Ghana in November, 1944 (Kofi Tsawey, personal communication, June 6, 2015). This shrine protected people from evil spirits, offered prosperity in trade and farming and cured infertility in barren women (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015)).

2.4 COMMUNITY SHRINE

Community shrine is a shrine which belongs to all the people living in a particular geographical location as a group. The “Brakune” or “Kune” shrine at Pepease belonged to all traditionalists and people who had interest in consulting the shrine. The deity “Brakune” was brought to Pepease-Kwahu by a man known as Kwasi Afrani from Kete Krakye in the 1930s. His main objective in bringing “Brakune” to Pepease was to prevent crimes, the
practice of witchcraft, theft and wrong doing at Pepease (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). Brakune is believed to possess enough spiritual powers to protect people against satanic spirits. It also gives success and good fortune to people. The principal functions of Brakune include protecting people against witchcraft, theft, general harm and misfortune (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). Since the study area is in Kwahu, it is important to discuss the traditional beliefs of the people of Kwahu.

2.5 THE TRADITIONAL BELIEFS OF THE PEOPLE OF KWAHU

Since the study area is found in Kwahu, it is appropriate for learners to acquire knowledge about the traditional beliefs of the Kwahu people.

The Kwahu people who are part of the Akans have several traditional beliefs. To commence with, they believe in the existence of the Supreme Being who they regard as the creator of all things (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). The people of Kwahu refer to the Supreme Being as “Onyankopon”. The Supreme Being is regarded as omnipotent which means having the ability or power to do anything. He is also regarded as the only Supreme Being by the Kwahu people. The Kwahu people believe that He is the power behind rainfall, lightning and thunder (Koranteng: 1997:11). He is also regarded as omniscient God. Thus, He is all-knowing and all-seeing God. He decides the destiny of people and nations across the world. God is also regarded by the Kwahu people as omnipresent. This means that He is present everywhere. Due to this, nobody can flee from God. The people of Kwahu believe that the dwelling place of the Supreme Being is heaven. They believe that the Supreme Being is far away from them therefore, He governs the world through agents who are mostly deities. This belief in the Supreme Being is inborn in every individual from the beginning of his existence. This belief is expressed in the popular adage “Obi nkyere abofra Onyankopon” (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015).
Secondly, the people of Kwahu believe in the existence of deities who they regard as gods. The gods are believed to be closer to the Supreme Being. They believe that their powers are derived from the Supreme Being (Koranteng 1997:10). The deities serve as intermediaries between the Supreme Being and man (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). The abodes of these deities include trees which are usually big in size, rivers, mountains, huge rocks and caves. The deities are worshipped and they communicate with people through priests and priestesses who act as temple officials (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015).

Finally, Kwahu people believe in ancestors. Ancestors are people who led useful and responsible lives as heroes of war, chiefs, family heads and other people who held important positions in their communities at the time they were alive. Basically, the ancestors of the Kwahu people are those who led useful and responsible lives. In fact, all the matrilineal clans in Kwahu including Asona, Agona, Aduana, Ekuona, Oyoko, Bretuo, Asene and Asakyi believe that their ancestors live close to them and guide them (Koranteng 1997:13). They also believe that their ancestors protect them and give them prosperity. They even believe that their ancestors intervene on their behalf when they wrong the deities (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). They also believe that their ancestors convey or carry their prayers to the Supreme Being. Kwahu people believe that their ancestors can inflict punishment such as diseases and barrenness on them if they get offended (Koranteng 1997:14). Thus, they believe that their ancestors punish those who break customary laws or fail to fulfill their obligation in society. They believe that death and sicknesses are caused by ancestors (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). It must be noted that among the Kwahu people drunkards, thieves, vagabonds and those who die childless do not qualify as ancestors. The person should also be at least forty years before dying (Koranteng 1997:14). It must be noted that those who die younger than the age of forty (40) are not
considered as ancestors. Aside from the belief system of the people of Kwahu, it is essential to know the customary practices observed by the people of Pepease.

2.6 SOME CUSTOMARY PRACTICES OBSERVED BY THE PEOPLE OF PEPEASE

Customary practices are practices inherited from the past that are accepted and respected by members of a community. These practices differ from one community to another. The people of Pepease observe several customary practices in accordance with their tradition.

2.6.1 PUBERTY RITE FOR GIRLS (“BRAGORO”)

Among Pepease girls, a transition from childhood to adolescence is marked by a special ceremony known as “Bragoro” (Koranteng 1997:99). Girls enter adulthood when they reach the age of puberty. The observation of the puberty rite for such a girl would enable her to enter womanhood. At adolescence, a girl normally experiences blood flow from her genitals which indicates that she has come of age. During that period, since she is supposed to be unclean, she stays outside the house for five days. She is put in charge of an old woman for training. The old woman is supposed to be someone whose child has never died. The old woman would instruct her on cleanliness, neatness, and matters relating to sex. The girl is made aware that she has attained maturity. On the final day, she is taken to the dung-hill to taste mashed yam three times. After that she is given a cooked egg to eat without masticating it. She is then brought home accompanied by folk songs. She is taken from house to house to greet friends and well-wishers who give her gifts (Koranteng 1997:100). Another important customary practice is naming ceremony.

2.6.2 NAMING CEREMONY (“BADINTO”)

The people of Kwahu especially Pepease regard marriage as successful if it results in childbirth. In fact, marriage without children is seen as a curse (Buah 1998:45). The birth of a child is seen as a joyous occasion which is marked by a special ceremony. This is normally a week after the child’s birth. A child may be named after the grandparents or a friend of the
father. It is normally done in the morning. It is a ceremony which brings relatives or close friends together. Before the ceremony begins, a libation is made in order to thank the creator of all things and also to invoke the spirits of the ancestors for guarding and protecting the baby. The baby is placed on the lap of the grand-parent or the person whose name the baby is about to assume. In the absence of the grand-parent, any elderly parent takes up the duty. Libation is made to thank the ancestors or gods for the gift which is the child. Water and wine are placed before those doing the celebration. The person doing it dips his forefinger into both the wine and the water. He then touches the tongue of the child three times. For instance, if the child is Kofi Tweneboa, the person performing the ceremony will recite the following words “Kofi Tweneboa, Kodua, when you say water, mean water, when you say wine, mean wine. Kofi Tweneboa Kodua, if you have come stay for good”. Libation is finally made to ask for protection, guidance, bravery, respect and good health from the ancestors of the child. After the libation which ends the occasion, those gathered will sip part of the wine as witnesses. However, the trend has changed as these days prayers are said to the Almighty God (Koranteng 1997:106). Aside from the naming ceremony among the people of Pepease, it is essential for learners to acquire knowledge about the era before and after Tigare came to Pepease.

2.7 THE PRE-TIGAREAN ERA AT PEPEASE- KWAHU

This topic is discussed because it is essential for learners to know the situation at Pepease before Tigare was brought to the town. This will help learners to understand the Tigare shrine which would be discussed later.

The pre-Tigarean era simply means the era prior to the arrival of Tigare at Pepease. This epoch lasted from AD 1705 to AD 1945. It must be noted that Pepease was founded in AD 1705. This era is characterised by two phases. These are the introduction of some deities in
the town and then the introduction of Christianity (Koranteng 1997:53). Each of these phases would be given elaborate treatment.

2.7.1 THE INTRODUCTION OF SOME DEITIES AT PEPEASE

An Akan legend states that at first the firmament and the earth were very close. A woman used to pound fufu and hit God continuously with her pestle. God protested several times but she did not heed the protest. Due to that God moved away far from humanity. This brought about the separation of the sky, God’s abode from the earth, the abode of humanity. Since the presence and abode of God were indispensable in the lives of humanity, His absence created a vacuum. Man’s search for God brought anxiety, apprehension, mistrust, sorcery and superstition. Man’s ultimate desire in his search for God was to reconcile with Him (Koranteng 1997:49). In his search, man began to look for a medium in order to reach God through communication. He also realised the supremacy of God. Man’s search for God was finally accomplished when he created deities who acted as intermediaries between God and man (Koranteng 1997:49). The deities of Pepease played a great role in the lives of the inhabitants of the town as they ease communication between God and man. One of these deities was “Aberewa”. Aberewa was brought to Pepease by Kwadwo Adane who resided at Owiaso a suburb at Pepease during the reign of Nana Owusu Mensa I (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015). The people of Pepease danced with joy when “Aberewa” was brought to the town. Clients at the shrine were given cola nut to buy for protection. In fact, at that time, a little bit of cola nut was bought at a price ranging from three to six pence. In those days if a member of the Aberewa shrine was condemned by the shrine and he died, he was placed naked in a yard and people danced around the corpse. The dancers went to the extent of kicking the dead body with their feet in contempt. Most often those condemned possessed witchcraft (Koranteng 1997:49).

Another deity Brakune was brought from Kete Krakye in the Volta Region to Pepease by Kwasi Afrani in order to get rid of witchcraft, sorceries and crimes at Pepease. Other deities
came after Brakune. Those deities were Fofie and Yentumi under the priesthood of Okomfo Afamma and Kese Nimpa respectively. Nni-aboro was also brought to the town in order to protect the clan of Asona and the entire people of Pepease (Koranteng 1997:50).

Finally, Senyakopo was a deity brought to Pepease during the reign of Nana Kwaku Apawu Dankyi I. The deity was brought to the town by Oheneba Kofi Ofosu and Abankwa. Senyakopo at that time protected the inhabitants of the town and provided a cure for several diseases (Nyarkum Kyei, personal communication, May 21, 2015).

2.7.2 THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY AT PEPEASE

The second phase of the pre-Tigarean era is marked by the introduction of Christianity at Pepease. The Basel or the Presbyterian Church was the first Christian faith to be established at Pepease-Kwahu. The Presbyterian Church at Pepease was established during the reign of Nana Kwaku Adane Gyasare between AD 1875 and AD 1880 (Abankwa Ababio, personal communication, June 15, 2015). Presbyterianism at Pepease was introduced by a German missionary known as Fritz August Ramseyer. Fritz August Ramseyer and his wife arrived at Abetifi–Kwahu for missionary activities. Although Ramseyer was performing his missionary activities at Abetifi–Kwahu, he occasionally visited Pepease (Koranteng 1997:53). The people of Pepease gathered to listen to him anytime he went there but he could not make any converts during his first three visits to Pepease (Apawu Somuah, personal communication, May 17, 2015). On his fourth visit, he converted a fetish priest by name Martin Darko who was later baptized at Abetifi. His later visits caused him to win three additional souls namely Kwadwo Tano, Kwabena Agyare and Kwame Ampaate who were later baptized at Abetifi (Boateng Elizabeth, personal communication, April 18, 2015). As the converts increased in number, a Presbyterian Congregation was established at Pepease. The first catechist of the church was Mr. Afari from Akropong in Akuapem. Mr. Afari at that time stayed at Kwadwo Tano’s house. Later on, Fritz August Ramseyer negotiated for a vast land at Pepease so that the congregation could build her church and a manse on it (Koranteng: 1997:54). This vast
land was named Christian Quarters where all Presbyterians were supposed to stay in order to avoid religious contamination from non-Presbyterians or infidels (Elizabeth Boateng, personal communication, April 18, 2015).

The relationship between the Presbyterians and the infidels at the time was not cordial. Even whenever a case was sent to the chief’s palace especially between a Presbyterian and an infidel, the Presbyterian was fined heavily. In those days, girls and women were forbidden to fetch water on Wednesday from the main brook in the town called Akumasum. Many women and girls disobeyed with impunity but when a Presbyterian disobeyed it, she was severely punished. Due to the mistreatment of Presbyterians, Ramseyer at a point in time had to intervene on their behalf so that they would be treated well (Koranteng 1997: 54).

In AD 1892, the Presbyterian Congregation at Pepease began the building of a chapel (Apawu Somuah, personal communication, May 17, 2015). In the course of the building, a member of the congregation namely Gyesaw met his untimely death after being hit by a plank which dropped accidentally. (Koranteng 1997: 54). The church continued to grow till the period of the First World War (1914-1918) when the growth of the church was interrupted by the transfer of the then catechist in charge of the church, Mr. Samuel Agyei. As the congregation of the church increased, a second and bigger church building was started in AD 1949. The stone foundation of the church was laid by Right Reverend G.K Sintim-Misa, the then moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana on January 3, 1971. The building was completed in 1986. As at December, 1991, the population of the church had increased to one thousand and seven with five hundred and forty seven adults and four hundred and sixty children. Out of the five hundred and forty-seven adults, three hundred and sixty four of them were communicants (Koranteng 1997:55).

Another prominent Christian faith which was introduced at Pepease during the pre-Tigarean era was the Catholic Church or Catholicism. The Catholic Church at Pepease was established in AD 1935 by Mr. George Anim who was the then vice-president of St. Peter’s Roman
Catholic Church at Pepease (Frempong, 2015). He was later joined by his wife and other people including Ernest Donkor, Amma Tema, Emmanuel Kwasi Kwakye, Catherine Aboagyewa and others (Koranteng 1997:58). It must be noted that all these people were members of the congregation at Ahinase.

On 11th November, 1941 the Catholic Congregation at Pepease under the leadership of Peter Kwabena Apiagyei approached Nana Owusu Mensah II, the then Kyidomhene of Kwahu for a plot of land in order to build their chapel on it. Prior to the building of their chapel, some members of the congregation offered their houses to be used as places of worship. These people included Okyeame Adane who offered his house for over three years and then Mr. George Anim who became president of the Catholic Church at Pepease. The building of the Catholic Church at Pepease was begun by Rev. Father Bowers in 1951. In 1988, members of the congregation decided to build a mission house (Koranteng 1997:59).

In conclusion, it can be said that during the pre-Tigarean era at Pepease, two Christian Churches namely Presbyterian and Catholic were established.

2.8 THE POST-TIGAREAN ERA AT PEPEASE-KWAHU

This topic is discussed because it would enable learners to know the situation at Pepease after the arrival of Tigare.

The post-Tigarean era at Pepease extends from AD 1945 up to the present time. This era is characterised by the establishment of new churches at Pepease in order to promote the Christian faith. One of these churches is the Church of Pentecost. The Church of Pentecost was established in AD 1958 at Pepease in order to promote the gospel of Jesus Christ. The church was begun by six members who were baptized by Rev. S.A Addo who was then in charge of the Pentecost Church at Abetifi. Later on, members of the congregation contributed
in aid of a chapel building. They began building their chapel in AD 1965 (Korangtenge 1997:60).

Aside from the Pentecost Church, other Christian Churches also came to Pepease. These Churches were Saviour Church, Christ Apostolic Church, Jehovah’s Witness, True Faith, Methodist Church and the Lord’s Garden Ministry International. The establishment of these churches affected the Tigare shrine at Pepease initially. Later on, people went back to the shrine but their number decreased. I have personally gone to the shrine over twenty times. Any time I went there I met new people.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to document adequately the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu. The research questions asked were to enable the realization of this purpose. This chapter describes the research approaches and methods employed in undertaking this study. The research approach enables us to know the procedures and the plans in the research whiles the methods were used in collecting data and information on the research. The research approaches used in undertaking the research are qualitative and quantitative approaches. The methods used in the research are informal interviews, photography, direct observation and ethnography. Each of these methods would be given elaborate treatment.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

Both qualitative and quantitative data approaches were used for the research.

The research methods employed in the research were informal interviews and then ethnography.

The research began with the study of the map of Pepease-Kwahu in order to locate the study area. Through the study of the map of Pepease, the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu was located. At the shrine, Kwadwo Amoa, the priest in charge of the shrine was seen and spoken to. His spokesperson Okyeame Anim was also seen and spoken to. They were both informed about the research on the shrine. Permission was sought and after it was granted the research began. Tigare was housed by the priest in one of his rooms.

The second research method was informal interview. Several categories of people who are all inhabitants of Pepease–Kwahu have been sought and interviewed. These people included
priests, spokespersons of priests, teachers, students, catechists, drivers, former Assembly members, clienteles, health workers, farmers, bankers, elderly people and sub-chiefs (see Tables One and Two). Two languages namely English Language and Twi were used depending on the wishes of the interviewees. The interviews were conducted at the houses, offices, school premises and shops of the interviewees. The interviews were unstructured and the questions were simple. The names of the interviewees were written and the answers they gave as responses to the questions were noted. The interviewees were told that their answers would be treated as confidential. The informal interviews were used to seek the views of people on the research topic. The answers given by interviewees were later verified by majority views. Ethnography was also used to collect data.

On the issue of ethnography as a method of study both emic and etic approaches were used. Emic approaches were used to find out the views of members of the Tigare shrine on the research topic. Emic approach investigates how people think (Kotak 2006). With the emic approach Kwadwo Amoa, the priest in charge of the Tigare shrine at Pepease, Okyeame Anim, the spokesperson of Kwadwo Amoa and one regular attendant of the Tigare shrine Boahene Eric were interviewed based on topics such as why the shrine is not documented by them, when Tigare was brought to Pepease, the by-laws of Tigare, how Tigare is different from other deities, how one is initiated into the cult as a member and the feasts celebrated at the shrine. All the three people were engaged in an interview in a form of conversation at different times. The language used for the interview was Twi. The answers given to the questions asked were recorded on tape for transcription and analysis later.

The researcher also used etic approach to investigate the things which happen at the shrine based on the information gathered. With this investigation both the by-laws of Tigare and the significance of Tigare were reviewed.

QUALITATIVE APPROACH:
This approach made use of in-depth interviews such as one-on-one interview, focus group interview and then direct observation.

On the issue of the one-on-one interview in order to draw information needed to understand issues pertaining to the study of the Tigare shrine at Pepease- Kwahu, the following issues related to the shrine were reviewed. They were why people at the Tigare shrine do not have interest in shrine documentation, history of the origin of Tigare, how one is initiated into the cult, the by-laws of Tigare, the paraphernalia in use at the shrine, the feasts celebrated at the shrine and the significance of the shrine. In all, a total of twenty-seven (27) people were interviewed. The interviewees who were interviewed on one-on-one basis were priests at Pepease, former assembly members of the town, elderly people at Pepease especially those who witnessed the arrival of the deity from Yipala, some inhabitants of the town who saw Kwasi Mawu before his death and those who consult the shrine. This is represented in Table One.

Table 1: Categories of people interviewed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE</th>
<th>NUMBER INTERVIEWED</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRIESTS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB-CHIEFS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSEMBLY MEMBERS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELDERLY PEOPLE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOME INHABITANTS AT PEPEASE</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOSE WHO CONSULT THE SHRINE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the one-on one interview, the focus group interview was also used. The sample of the focus group interviewees was drawn from some inhabitants of Pepease- Kwahu. In all, a total of eighteen (18) people were grouped into six (6). Three people were put in each group. Each group was guided by a moderator in the interview on topics related to the Tigare shrine at Pepease- Kwahu. The topics for the interview were why people at Pepease Tigare shrine do not like documenting the shrine, the history of the origin of Pepease Tigare, how people are initiated into the cult as members, the paraphernalia in use at the shrine and the feasts celebrated at the shrine. The groups were named A, B, C, D, E and F. The interview was moderated and it lasted for three hours. During the interview, a member of each group had the opportunity to express his or her views. The groups were asked questions in the form of interviews and they answered the questions. Data was recorded using written notes and stenography.

DIRECT OBSERVATION

Direct observation was also used to collect qualitative data. Direct observation included site visits and fieldworks. Direct observation was used to collect data on how Tigare Agofomma sing their songs and back them with drums (see the picture of Tigare Agofomma in Plate 6). A camera was used to take the picture of Tigare Agofomma. Also, through direct observation, all the feasts celebrated at the shrine were made known (see Chapter Four for these feasts). Again, through direct observation, the paraphernalia in use at the shrine were seen.

In addition to that, the deity Tigare was seen through direct observation. The photograph of the deity was taken.

Finally, through direct observation, how one is initiated as a member of the Tigare shrine was known (see Chapter Four for this).
QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

The quantitative approaches used in the research were the administration of printed questionnaire and then face to face interview.

Printed questionnaires with instructions on how to answer the questions was administered. In all, a total of thirty (30) questionnaires were administered due to high illiteracy rate in the town as well as few literature available and then few people having interest in the research topic. The questions were read and explained to each of the people who answered the questions and are inhabitants of Pepease-Kwahu. They were given three (3) weeks to provide answers to the questions. They were supposed to provide their details such as names and telephone numbers on the papers. A space was created after each question and the answer was written there. Participants were assured that their answers would be treated as confidential. They were also asked to indicate the sources of their information (see Appendix 1 for the questionnaire).

Another quantitative approach used was face to face interview. With this form of interview, eighty (80) people were randomly sought and interviewed based on the research topic, a study of the Tigare shrine at Pepease – Kwahu. All the people interviewed disclosed that they were inhabitants of Pepease. The interview was done for two weeks at different places including schools, homes, offices and at the Pepease clinic. The interviewees included fifteen (15) teachers, five (5) bankers, ten (10) health workers, twenty (20) students from different senior high schools, fifteen (15) farmers, four (4) catechists, five (5) barbers and six (6) drivers (see Appendix 1 for the questions for the interview. The people interviewed are represented in Table 2.
Table 2: Categories of people in the face to face interview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY OF PEOPLE</th>
<th>NUMBER INTERVIEWED</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TEACHERS</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BANKERS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEALTH WORKERS</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STUDENTS</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARMERS</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATECHISTS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BARBERS</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRIVERS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

The analyses consisted of qualitative, quantitative and ethnographic data analyses.

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

The qualitative data analysis was done in order to dive deep into the problem investigated. It also had a small sample size.

The qualitative data collected for analysis was obtained from one-on-one interview and then focus group interview.

On the issue of the one-on-one interview with the twenty-seven people interviewed, none of them could tell why members of Pepease Tigare cult do not document the shrine. With regards to history of the origin of Pepease Tigare, five (5) out of the twenty-seven people
interviewed representing 18.5% said that Pepease Tigare was brought from Yipala in Northern Ghana. The five (5) people consisted of three priests and two sub-chiefs. The remaining twenty-two (22) people had no idea about the question. On the issue of how one is initiated into Pepease Tigare cult as a member, six (6) out of the twenty-seven (27) people interviewed said one is taught the by-laws and also made to know the benefits he would get after becoming a member. After that the initiation rite is done for the person. The six (6) people consisted of three (3) priests, two (2) elderly people and then one (1) person who consults the shrine. The six (6) people represented 22.2% of the interviewees. The remaining twenty-one interviewees representing 77.8% had no idea about the question. On the issue of the by-laws of the shrine none of the twenty-seven interviewees could answer the question. With regards to the paraphernalia in use at the shrine eight out of the twenty-seven people interviewed made mention of three paraphernalia namely cola nut, cudgel and then spear. The eight people consisted of four priests, one sub-chief and then three people who consult the shrine. They represented 29.6% of the interviewees. The remaining nineteen interviewees representing 70.4% had no idea about the question. With regards to the feasts celebrated at the shrine only two out of the twenty-seven people interviewed could mention one feast namely Akwasidae celebrated at the shrine. The two people represented 7.4%. The remaining twenty-five people representing 92.6% could not answer the question. On the issue of the significance of the shrine, ten out of the twenty-seven people interviewed made mention of two significance namely, fighting against witchcraft and then curing infertility in women. They represented 37%. The remaining seventeen people representing 63% could not answer the question.

On the issue of the focus group interview with the total of the eighteen people interviewed who were divided into six groups none of them could tell why Pepease Tigare shrine is not documented by members of the cult. On the issue of history of the origin of Pepease Tigare, four out of the six groups namely groups B, D, E and F said that Tigare was brought to
Yipala in Northern Ghana. The four groups represented 66.7%. The rest of the two groups namely groups A and C representing 33.3% had no idea about the origin of Pepease Tigare. It must be noted that the letters refer to the names of the six groups chosen for the focus group interview. On the issue of how one is initiated as a member of the shrine, none of the six groups could answer it. On the issue of the paraphernalia in use at the shrine, only two groups namely groups A and D could mention two paraphernalia namely cola nut and sheep skin. The two groups represented 33.3%. The remaining four groups namely B, C, E and F had no idea about the paraphernalia in use at the shrine. The four groups represented 66.7%. Finally, on the issue of the feasts celebrated at the shrine only one group namely group C could mention one feast that is Akwasidae feast. The one group represented 16.7%. The remaining five groups namely group A, B, D, E and F could not answer the question.

**QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS**

The quantitative data analysis was used to quantify the problem by way of generating numerical data that was transformed into useable statistics.

The quantitative data collected for the analysis was obtained from two sources namely printed questionnaire and face to face interview.

To commence with, the printed questionnaire was done with thirty (30) questionnaires administered to people who are inhabitants of Pepease to answer. The questions were based on the research topic “A study of the Tigare shrine at Pepease –Kwahu”. On the issue of the total number of Tigare shrines at Pepease, twenty (20) out of the thirty (30) people who answered the question representing 66.7% said there is only one (1) Tigare shrine at Pepease –Kwahu. Five (5) out of the thirty (30) people representing 16.7% said there are many Tigare shrines at Pepease –Kwahu. The remaining five (5) people had no idea about the question. Again, on the issue of the number of deities that existed before the arrival of Tigare at Pepease from Yipala, fifteen (15) out of the thirty people who answered the question
representing 50% said there were seven (7) deities namely Afirim di Atuo, Brakune, Aberewa, Fofie, Yentumi, Nni-aboro and then Senyakopo. Five people representing 16.7% made mention of only two deities namely Aberewa and Brakune. The remaining ten people had no idea about the question. On the issue of how long Tigare has existed at Pepease, only one (1) out of the thirty people who answered the question representing 3.3% said that Tigare has been at Pepease for over sixty (60) years. The remaining twenty-nine people representing 96.7% had no idea about the question. Also, on the issue of the total number of Tigare shrines in Kwahu, none of the thirty (30) people who answered the question could answer.

Again, on the issue of the number of priests that have served Pepease Tigare, seventeen (17) out of the thirty (30) people who answered that question representing 56.7% said only two priests have served Pepease Tigare. With this they mentioned Kwasi Mireku and Kwadwo Amoa. The remaining thirteen people representing 43.3% had no idea about the question. Also, on the issue of the number of spokespersons the priest of Pepease Tigare shrine have, twenty-five (25) out of the thirty people who answered the question representing 83.3% had no idea about the question. The remaining five (5) people who represented 16.7% said the spokespersons are three (3).

Furthermore, on the issue of the number of churches which existed during the pre-Tigarean era, eighteen (18) out of the thirty (30) people who answered the question representing 60% said two churches namely Presbyterian and Catholic were established. The remaining twelve (12) people representing 40% had no idea about the question. With regards to the number of people who began those churches, the eighteen people wrote two.

On the issue of the number of chiefs that ruled over Pepease during the pre-Tigarean era, none of the thirty (30) people could answer.

With regards to the number of clienteles that visit the shrine annually, five (5) out of the thirty people who answered the question representing 16.7% said on the average fifty (50)
clienteles visit the shrine annually. The remaining twenty-five (25) people representing 83.3% could not answer the question. Also, none of the thirty people could answer the question on the total number of people at the shrine. Again, on the issue of the total number of clienteles at the shrine before Kwasi Mireku died, none of the thirty (30) people could specify the exact number but ten (10) of them wrote that there were many people at the shrine during the time of Kwasi Mireku but now the number has reduced. The ten (10) people represented 33.3%. The remaining twenty (20) people had no idea about the question. The twenty (20) people who had no idea about the question represented 66.7%.

On the issue of the number of feats celebrated at the shrine, sixteen out of thirty people who answered the question wrote that two feasts namely Fofie and Akwasidae are celebrated at the shrine. The sixteen (16) people represented 53.3%. Ten (10) people also wrote that only one feast namely, Akwasidae is celebrated at the shrine. The ten (10) people represented 33.3%. The remaining four (4) people had no idea about the question. Again, on the issue of the number of spokespersons that have served the priests of Pepease Tigare, twenty-one (21) out of the thirty (30) people who answered the question wrote that three people namely Kwadwo Tano, Okyeame Asante and Okyeame Anim have served as spokespersons for Tigare priests. The twenty-one people represented 70%. Six (6) people made mention of only one (1) name that is Okyeame Anim. The six (6) people represented 20%. Three (3) people had no idea about the question. The three people represented 10%. On the issue of the number of children the first priest of the shrine had, ten (10) out of the thirty people wrote that the first priest had numerous children without any specification. The ten (10) people represented 33.3%. Fifteen (15) of them wrote that the first priest had fifty (50) children. The fifteen (15) people represented 50%. The remaining five (5) people had no idea about the question. They represented 16.7%. On the issue of the number of houses built by the first priest of the Tigare shrine, seventeen (17) out of thirty (30) people wrote that six (6) houses were built by the first priest of the shrine. The seventeen (17) people represented 56.7%. Ten
people wrote that he built nine (9) houses. The ten (10) people represented 33.3%. The remaining three (3) people who represented 10% had no idea about the question. On the issue of how long the first priest of the shrine lived, fifteen (15) out of the thirty (30) people who answered the question wrote that the priest lived for eighty (80) years. The fifteen (15) people represented 50%. Thirteen (13) people could not answer the question. The thirteen (13) people represented 43.3%. The remaining two (2) people wrote that the first priest lived for seventy (70) years. The two (2) people represented 6.7%.

On the issue of the number of animals used in making sacrifice to Tigare, fourteen (14) people wrote that only one animal namely ram is used in making sacrifice to Tigare. The fourteen (14) people represented 46.7%. The remaining sixteen (16) people had no idea about the question. The sixteen (16) people represented 53.3%. On the issue of the number of priests who are supposed to serve Pepease Tigare at a time, twenty-five (25) out of the thirty (30) people who answered the question wrote that only one (1) priest is supposed to serve Pepease Tigare at a time. The twenty-five (25) people represented 83.3%. The remaining five (5) people could not answer the question. The five people represented 16.7%. With regards to the number of times members of the shrine meet weekly, twenty (20) out of the thirty (30) people who answered the question wrote that it depends on the programme at the shrine. The twenty (20) people represented 66.7%. The remaining ten (10) people could not answer the question. The ten (10) people represented 33.3%.

Moreover, another quantitative data collected for analysis was obtained through face to face interview. With this quantitative approach eighty (80) people who are all inhabitants of Pepease were randomly sought and interviewed based on the research topic “A study of the Tigare shrine at Pepease –Kwahu.

To commence with the analysis, on the issue of the number of Tigare shrines at Pepease –Kwahu, fifty (50) out of the eighty (80) people randomly interviewed said that there is only
one Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu. The fifty (50) people consisted of twelve (12) teachers, three (3) bankers, six (6) health workers, ten (10) students, ten (10) farmers, three (3) catechists, two (2) barbers and then four (4) drivers. The fifty (50) people represented 62.5%. The remaining thirty (30) people could not answer the question. The thirty (30) people represented 37.5%.

On the issue of the number of deities at Pepease-Kwahu before the arrival of Tigare, forty-five (45) out of the eighty (80) people interviewed said that there were seven (7) deities at Pepease –Kwahu before the arrival of Tigare. The forty-five (45) people represented 56.3%. Thirty (30) out of the eighty (80) people said four (4) deities existed during the pre-Tigarean era at Pepease. The thirty (30) people represented 37.4%. Five (5) people had no idea about the question. The five (5) people represented 6.3%.

On the issue of the total number of Tigare shrines in Kwahu, none of the interviewees could answer it. Again, on the issue of the number of priests that have served Pepease Tigare, fifty-five (55) out of the eighty interviewees said that two (2) priests have served Pepease Tigare. The fifty-five (55) people represented 68.8%. Twenty (20) people said four (4) priests have served Pepease Tigare. They represented 25%. Five (5) people said one (1) priest has served Pepease Tigare. The five (5) people represented 6.2%. With regards to the number of spokespersons that have served the priests at the shrine, forty (40) people said that three (3) spokespersons namely, Kwadwo Tano, Okyeame Asante and then Okyeame Anim have served the priests at the shrine. The forty (40) people represented 50%.

With regards to the number of churches which existed at Pepease- Kwahu during the pre-Tigarean era, fifty (50) out of the eighty (80) interviewees said two churches namely Presbyterian and Catholic churches existed during the pre-Tigarean era. The fifty (50) people represented 62.5%. The remaining thirty (30) people representing 37.5% could not answer the question.
On the issue of the number of chiefs that ruled over Pepease before Tigare was brought to the town, none of the eighty (80) interviewees could answer it.

On the issue of the total number of people who were members of the Tigare shrine during the time of the first priest, forty (40) interviewees said there were one hundred and fifty (150) people at the shrine. The forty (40) people represented 50%. Twenty (20) people said there were hundred people as members of the shrine. The twenty (20) people represented 25%. The remaining twenty (20) people could not answer the question. They also represented 25%. On the issue of the total number of people at the shrine at the moment, forty-seven (47) out of the eighty (80) interviewees said there are fifty (50) people at the shrine. They represented 58.8%. Thirty (30) interviewees said that there are sixty (60) people at the shrine. They represented 37.5%. The remaining three (3) people had no idea about the question. The three (3) people represented 3.7%.

With regards to the number of children the first priest of the shrine had, forty-five (45) out of the eighty (80) interviewees said that the first priest of the shrine had fifty (50) children. They represented 56.3%. Twenty-five interviewees said he had forty (40) children. They represented 31.3%. The remaining ten (10) had no idea about it. The ten (10) people represented 12.5%.

On the issue of the number of wives the first priest of the shrine had, forty-two (42) out of the eighty (80) interviewees said he had five (5) wives. The forty-two people represented 52.5%. Twenty (20) of the interviewees said he had six (6) wives. They represented 25%. Ten (10) interviewees said he had four (4) wives. They represented 12.5%. The remaining eight (8) people could not answer the question. They represented 10%.

With regards to the number of priests that are supposed to serve Tigare at a time, sixty (60) out of the eighty (80) interviewees said only one (1) priest is supposed to serve Pepease Tigare. The sixty interviewees represented 75%. Ten (10) people said that two (2) priests are
supposed to serve Pepease Tigare. They represented 12.5%. The remaining ten people said three (3) priests are supposed to serve Pepease Tigare at a time. They also represented 12.5%.

With regards to the number of animals which are used to offer sacrifice at the shrine to Tigare, fifty (50) interviewees said that five (5) animals are used to offer sacrifice to Tigare. They represented 62.5%. Twenty (20) interviewees said only one (1) animal is used to offer sacrifice at the shrine. The twenty (20) people represented 25%. Ten (10) people said three (3) animals are used to offer sacrifice to Tigare at the shrine. The ten (10) people represented 12.5%.

ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA ANALYSIS

The ethnographic data for analysis was obtained from two sources namely emic and etic approaches. Emic approach was used to seek the views of those who are members of the Tigare shrine. In seeking the views of those who are members of Pepease Tigare cult using emic approach, three people namely Kwadwo Amoa, the priest in charge of the shrine, Okyeame Anim, his spokesperson and Eric Boahene, a regular attendant at the shrine were interviewed on topics such as how Pepease Tigare shrine is different from other shrines, how Tigare is seen by members of the shrine, when Tigare was brought to Pepease-Kwahu, the by-laws of Tigare, how one is initiated into the cult as a member of the Tigare shrine and then the feasts celebrated at the shrine.

On the issue of how Pepease Tigare shrine is different from other shrines, Kwadwo Amoa said unlike other traditional shrines, Pepease Tigare shrine is like church premises where God is worshipped through Tigare. In fact, on the first visit to the shrine, a Holy Bible was seen. After Amoa was interrogated he responded by saying that the principles in the Holy Bible are applied at the shrine. Amoa added by saying that Tigare ensures that everybody lives his life fully as God intended, therefore, he does not tolerate any evil practices. When Okyeame Anim was asked how he sees Pepease Tigare shrine, he also said that the shrine is like
church premises where God is worshipped through Tigare. He also added that the shrine is a healing centre. The two interviewees represented 66.7%. Eric Boahene however, could not differentiate Pepease Tigare shrine from other shrines. He said that they are all the same. He represented 33.3%.

On the issue of how Tigare is seen by those three interviewees who are members of the shrine, Kwadwo Amoa said that Tigare is a powerful deity who hates dishonesty or lie telling. Therefore, if one seeks justice or impartial judgement, the person should consult Nana Tigare. Okyeame Anim also agrees with Kwadwo Amoa on the same view. He added that Tigare is a powerful deity with healing powers. He has skills and prowess in fighting against those who engage in evil practices. Eric Boahene also said Tigare is a just and powerful deity with healing powers. He further said that Pepease Tigare is a liberator since he sets people free from sicknesses, infertility and sorcery. He concluded that Nana Tigare does not tolerate evil practices on the part of humanity. The three interviewees represented 100%.

On the issue of why the Tigare shrine at Pepease is not documented by members of the shrine, Kwadwo Amoa said that it is a tradition he inherited from his father. Thus, his father did not document the history and activities of the shrine, therefore, he too did not document it. Okyeame Anim also agrees with Kwadwo Amoa that the shrine is not documented because the first priest of the shrine did not document the history and activities of the shrine. He further added that the shrine is not documented due to illiteracy. Eric Boahene, a regular attendant at the shrine also said that a lot of people at the shrine are illiterate therefore cannot document the history and activities of the shrine. The three interviewees represented 100%.

With regards to when Tigare was brought to Pepease-Kwahu, Kwadwo Amoa said it was AD 1945. Okyeame Anim, his spokesperson also said it was in the 1940s. Eric Boahene had no idea about the question. The two interviewees represented 66.7% whiles Eric Boahene represented 33.3%.
On the issue of the by-laws of Tigare, Kwadwo Amoa said that Tigare hates adultery, curse, envy, stealing, bribery and bearing false witness against someone. When Okyeame Anim was asked the same question, he said that Tigare hates stealing, adultery, curse, bribery and then bearing false witness against someone. Eric Boahene also gave the same answer to the question. The three interviewees represented 100%.

With regards to how one is initiated into Pepease Tigare shrine as a member, Kwadwo Amoa said that the by-laws of the shrine are made known and explained to a prospective candidate who is willing to join the cult. He is also told of the benefits he will get after becoming a member of the shrine (see Chapter Four for the benefits). The prospective candidate would decide out of his own volition to either become a member of the shrine or refuse. If he decides to be a member of the shrine, the necessary rites would be performed for him to become a member of the shrine (see Chapter Four for these rites). Okyeame Anim also expressed the same views as Kwadwo Amoa did. Boahene Eric also said that one can only become a member of Pepease Tigare shrine after showing willingness to go by the by-laws of the shrine. He added that the benefits one would get after becoming a member of the shrine are made known to the prospective candidate. Finally, the necessary rites are performed to initiate the person (see Chapter Four for the details). The three interviewees represented 100%.

Finally, on the issue of the feasts celebrated at the shrine, Kwadwo Amoa said that two feasts namely Akwasidae and Fofie are celebrated at the shrine. Okyeame Anim also made mention of Akwasidae and Fofie as the feasts celebrated at the shrine. Eric Boahene also made mention of the two feasts celebrated at the shrine. The three interviewees represented 100%.

On the issue of the etic approach, looking at the functions or significance of Pepease Tigare as discussed in chapter four, it can be said that Tigare is the most powerful deity in Kwahu. No wonder, he was seen as a threat by a lot of Christian congregations in Kwahu (Miescher
2005:174). It can also be deduced from the discussion in chapter four (4) that Tigare is a god of justice who never tolerates any evil act. No wonder he does not tolerate witchcraft, adultery and stealing.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE TIGARE SHRINE AT PEPEASE

4.0 INTRODUCTION

After every research conducted, there are findings. This chapter discusses the findings of the research conducted on the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu. The findings have been structured under the following headings. They are history of the origin of Pepease Tigare, why the shrine is not documented by members of the cult, the by-laws of Tigare, how one is initiated into the cult of Pepease Tigare, the paraphernalia in use at the shrine, the feasts celebrated at the shrine, the animals used to offer sacrifice at the shrine and then the significance or functions of Pepease Tigare. Each of these findings is given elaborate treatment in this chapter.

4.1 HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN OF PEPEASE TIGARE

Pepease Tigare is the official deity for Kwahu rear wing stool (Kyidomhene). Tigare was brought to Pepease from Yipala in Northern Ghana during the reign of Nana Owusu Mensah II in 1945 (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, May 15, 2015). Nana Owusu Mensah II sent a delegation to Yipala under the leadership of Kwasi Mireku popularly known as Kwasi Mawu to bring Tigare to Pepease–Kwahu in order to protect the inhabitants of the town and also to end the activities of witchcraft at Pepease (Miescher 2005:174).

Kwasi Mireku therefore became the first priest of the shrine (see the picture of Kwasi Mireku in Plate 4). Kwasi Mireku maintained a reputation as a hardworking man. He died on July 21, 1993 at the age of eighty (80). Prior to his death he was considered as a respectable and wealthy cocoa farmer with numerous followers in the various towns and villages in Kwahu (Jacob Asante, personal communication, May 10, 2015). After his death, he was succeeded by his son Kwadwo Amoa (Miescher 2005:174). Kwadwo Amoa is the current priest of the
The succession of Kwadwo Amoa was a breach of tradition since his nephew Kwasi Addae should have succeeded Kwasi Mireku. It should be borne in mind that the people of Pepease–Kwahu practise matrilineal system of inheritance. The Tigare shrine at Pepease–Kwahu provides a sense of community which centres on the priest who promises spiritual protection and material well being. The presence of Tigare at Pepease attracted clients from many parts of the country (Koranteng 1997:50). Amma Yeboaa, a priestess emphasized on the fear connected with Tigare. She noted that in the olden days nobody was beyond Tigare’s power. The Tigare shrine at Pepease–Kwahu grew steadily in popularity as the flow of pilgrims became greatest at each Akwasidae when lorries were seen on the road to Pepease–Kwahu (Jacob Asante, personal communication, May 10, 2015).

It must be noted that Kwasi Mireku before becoming the priest for Pepease Tigare was a sandal maker and the spokesperson for Kwasi Fofie, the first priest in charge of Nkwantanang Tigare (Miescher 2005:174). The first spokesperson for Kwasi Mireku was Kwadwo Tano. He served at the shrine for a while and died. After his death he was replaced by Kwabena Asante who was already working under him prior to his death. Kwabena Asante also died after serving for a while as the spokesperson for Kwasi Mireku at the shrine. The current spokesperson for Kwadwo Amoa, the current priest of the shrine is Okyeame Anim (Abankwa Ababio, personal communication, June 15, 2015).

The Tigare shrine at Pepease–Kwahu is symbolised by the horn of a buffalo (see Plate 3 for the picture of Pepease Tigare). The rationale behind it is that Tigare aids hunters in hunting (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, May 15, 2015).

The Tigare shrine at Pepease Kwahu has a group of people who entertains those who go to the shrine with songs. This group of people is called Tigare Agofomma (see the picture of shrine (see the picture of Kwadwo Amoa in Plate 5).
Tigare Agofomma in Plate 6). Tigare Agofomma is a group of people who sing songs and back them with drums at Pepease Tigare Shrine.

It is essential that the history of Pepease Tigare shrine is documented by members of the cult.

4.2 WHY PEPEASE TIGARE SHRINE IS NOT DOCUMENTED BY MEMBERS OF THE CULT

It is important for the history and activities of every institution to be documented by its members. Unfortunately, the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu is not documented by its members leading to the gradual loss of the institutional memory of the shrine. Shrine documentation is also important because it would help people to acquire knowledge about the shrine. When Kwadwo Amoa, Okyeame Anim and Eric Boahene were interviewed, they said that the shrine is not documented by its members because of two reasons.

In the first place, the history and activities of the shrine have not been documented by members of the shrine due to the fact that the first priest of the shrine namely Kwasi Mireku did not document the history and activities of the shrine. Thus, it is something the current priest of the shrine inherited from his father so he too has decided not to document it. They are therefore reluctant to break the tradition of their forefathers (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). Since the world is advancing the status quo should be defied.

Secondly, the interviewees said that the shrine is not documented due to illiteracy. Thus, a lot of people at the shrine cannot read and write therefore would not be able to document (Eric Boahene, personal communication, May 20, 2015).

It is essential for every shrine to have by-laws in order to regulate the behaviour of members of the shrine.
4.3 THE BY-LAWS OF PEPEASE TIGARE SHRINE

Contextually, the by-laws of the shrine are meant to control the behaviour and activities of members who belong to the Tigare cult. Without by-laws members of the shrine would misconduct themselves or go wayward. The by-laws of Pepease Tigare shrine help members of the cult to conduct themselves well or behave in an appropriate manner.

The Tigare shrine at Pepease Kwahu has the following by-laws.

To commence with, members of the cult shall not commit adultery.

Secondly, members of the cult shall not steal.

In addition to that, members of the cult shall not curse or poison any person.

Also, members of the shrine shall not envy the property of other people or their wives.

Furthermore, members of the cult shall not bear false witness or evidence against other people or bribe people to do so.

Finally, members of the cult shall hold the name of Tigare in deep reverence. They shall not swear by it or curse anybody with it (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015).

If the first law is contravened by members of the shrine, they are dealt with severely by Tigare. Most often, those who are guilty publicly confess their sins. Sometimes too those who are guilty are fined as punishment by the chief of Pepease or the Kyidomhene of Kwahu Traditional Area and part of the money is given to the priest in charge of the shrine in accordance with custom.

It is important for learners to acquire knowledge about how one is initiated as a member of the Tigare cult at Pepease –Kwahu.
4.4 HOW ONE IS INITIATED INTO THE TIGARE CULT AT PEPEASE KWAHU

To become a member of the Tigare cult at Pepease is the ultimate desire for most traditionalists at Pepease-Kwahu. Members of the cult see their membership as a great privilege since that is the biggest traditional cult at Pepease.

Before one can be initiated as a true member of the cult, the person is taught the by-laws and also made to know the benefits he would get when he is initiated. The prospective candidate out of his own volition would decide whether to be a member of the cult or not. Thus, the initiation of people into the cult is not by compulsion. If the prospective candidate shows willingness to become a member of the cult, the priest in charge of the shrine would perform some rites to initiate him and then recite some words (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). The exact words recited according to the priest should be made known to only the person about to be initiated.

In the first place, the prospective candidate is given a piece of cola nut by the priest in charge of the shrine (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). The priest of the shrine would recite some words to indicate that the prospective candidate has exercised his free will in a positive sense by becoming a member of the shrine. Tigare is invoked by the priest of the shrine to protect and bless the prospective candidate in all his undertakings. The cola nut is consecrated and the prospective candidate is asked to chew it together with the priest of the shrine. After that the prospective candidate is white-clayed on the forehead as a sign of victory. (Eric Boahene, personal communication, May 20, 2015). At the end of each year, if he derives some benefits from the shrine, he goes to the shrine to express his gratitude to Tigare by giving some offering in the form of money in order to show appreciation to Tigare. This is called the initiation ceremony of Tigare (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015).
Aside from the initiation rite for new members of the shrine, the paraphernalia in use at the shrine is also important.

4.5 THE PARAPHERNALIA IN USE AT THE SHRINE

Every shrine in Ghana has certain paraphernalia which are in use. Paraphernalia are assorted objects or items which are in use by the priest in charge of the shrine and people who go to the shrine for different purposes.

The following paraphernalia are in use by the priest in charge of the shrine and people who go to the shrine for different reasons.

To commence with, there is a talisman in the gown of the priest. This is worn by the priest of the shrine. Aside from that, there are also knives, beads, black powder, cudgels, drums with sheep’s skin and cola nut (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, May 15, 2015). When asked the significance of some of the paraphernalia in use at the shrine it was realised that the cola nut is used to detect witchcraft by the priest of the shrine. The cudgel and the spear are also used by the priest of the shrine in spiritual warfare and also to arrest a person possessing witchcraft (Eric Boahene, personal communication, May 20, 2015).

Shrines mostly have feasts which they celebrate periodically. It is important for learners to acquire knowledge about the feasts celebrated at the shrine.

4.6 THE FEASTS CELEBRATED AT THE SHRINE

Shrines have feasts that they celebrate periodically to commemorate certain events.

Members of the Tigare shrine at Pepease –Kwahu have feasts which they celebrate periodically. These feasts are Akwasidae which is celebrated once in every forty days on Sunday and then Fofie which is celebrated once in every forty days on Friday. During those feasts free food and drinks are provided by the priest in charge of the shrine. General dance
takes place at the shrine where the feasts are celebrated. A ram is slaughtered and it is used to prepare a meal at the shrine (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, May 15, 2015). The Akwasidae feast is celebrated because of the link of the deity with the Kyidomhene stool. The celebration of the feasts brings joy to members of the shrine.

Aside from the feast celebration, it is important for learners to acquire knowledge about the animals that are used in offering sacrifice to Pepease Tigare.

4.7 THE ANIMALS USED TO OFFER SACRIFICE TO PEPEASE TIGARE

Animal sacrifice is the single most important ritual practice performed by several African traditionalists. The blood of those animals sacrificed is used to feed the spirits of deities and ancestors.

At the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu, sacrifice is most often a blood offering. Animals sacrificed at the shrine are consumed by the priest and participants in the ritual (Okyeame Anim, personal communication, May 25, 2015). Most often animals are sacrificed during the celebration of feasts at the shrine. It must be noted that the blood of five animals is used to feed Pepease Tigare. These animals are rams, fowls, guinea fowls, cats and dogs. These animals are chosen based on the instruction given by the mother shrine when Kwasi Mireku, the first priest of Pepease Tigare shrine went for Tigare from Yipala. In other words, those animals are chosen as sacrificial animals in order to meet the customary demand of the mother shrine at Yipala (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, May 15, 2015).

For the purpose of adequate documentation, it is also important for learners to acquire knowledge about the functions or significance of Pepease Tigare.

4.8 THE FUNCTIONS OR SIGNIFICANCE OF PEPEASE TIGARE
Every shrine in Ghana has functions that it performs. The functions of these shrines most often attract clients to those shrines.

The Tigare shrine at Pepease –Kwahu has a lot of functions or significance.

To commence with, the shrine offers general protection against evil spirits especially witchcraft, evil gods and then poisonous juju (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). The priest of the shrine generally uses cola nut as a means of detecting witches and wizards at the shrine. In doing this, the priest of the shrine mixes cola nut with the bile of a crocodile and then smears it on the body of the victim. The victim is tormented until confession is made. The victim is finally relieved from pain after confession (Koranteng 1997:50). It is believed that witchcraft exists and exercises pernicious influence on the lives of people and their homes through supernatural agencies being the general and acceptable belief of the people.

In Addition to the first point, the Tigare shrine at Pepease –Kwahu brings prosperity to members of the shrine and those who consult the shrine on business and farming. Through my ethnographic research it has come to the realization that several Kwahumen became successful in their business after consulting the shrine (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). Even the priests in charge of the various Tigare shrines became affluent through their business. They also became wealthy through the offerings they had from those who consult the shrine. These priests included Yaw Tawiah of Abetifi, Kwasi Mireku of Pepease and Kwasi Fofie of Nkwantanang (Okyeame Anim, personal communication, May 25, 2015). The affluence of Kwasi Mireku can be justified by the fact that he built over twenty houses in the various towns in Kwahu especially at Pepease and Tease in Afram Plains (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). He had five wives and fifty children. Kwasi Mireku sent all his fifty children to Catholic schools and had them baptized since he believed in Catholicism (Miescher 2005:177). Kwasi Mawu as a
generous person shared his resources. Stephan Miescher recorded that at Tease in Afram Plains Kwasi Mireku due to his benevolence provided transport with his car, allowed people to use his generator and opened a store there (Miescher 2005:174). He even took the initiative to start a bank in Afram Plains but could not establish it (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). Kwasi Mireku built houses for each of his five wives (Okyeame Anim, personal communication, May 25, 2015). He also built houses for himself and inscribed on them “People inquire about the reputation of somebody’s home but not his riches”. One of the houses he built became his main residence at Pepease –Kwahu (see the picture of the house in Plate 7). Kwasi Mireku also became a big cocoa farmer during Ghana’s postwar cocoa boom era (Miescher 2005:174). As a big cocoa farmer, he acquired a vast land in Afram Plains and decided to start a cocoa plantation there with the assistance of his adherents and children. He became successful in his cocoa farm. He had public recognition when he became the chief cocoa farmer (akuafohene) in Afram Plains in 1973. He attributed this success partly to Tigare and his diligence (Miescher 2005:177).

Furthermore, Tigare has the power to make an infertile woman pregnant and also helps men and women to stay healthy (Eric Boahene, personal communication, May 20, 2015). In fact Tigare can diagnose sicknesses among people and then prescribe medicine or herbs for them (Miescher, 2005:176). Most people testify that Tigare is a powerful deity (Jacob Asante, personal communication, May 10, 2015). Although Tigare cures diseases, if a member of the shrine wishes to be treated by a medical practitioner, he is at liberty to do so. However, before the person goes for treatment, a prayer is said and a libation made on behalf of the person (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015). According to Kwadwo Amoa, over twenty (20) people have sought treatment outside the shrine (Kwadwo Amoa, personal communication, April 20, 2015).

Finally, Tigare has the ability to identify adulterous people and punish them (Adu Boadi, personal communication, June 9, 2015). Due to this, one has to be faithful to his or her partner and then avoid extra-marital sex. It must be noted that adultery is one of the forbidden by-laws of Tigare.
Plate 3: Pepease Tigare
Source: Researcher, 2015

Plate 4: Kwasi Mireku
Source: Researcher, 2015
Plate 5: Kwadwo Amoa  
Source: Researcher, 2015.

Plate 6: Tigare Agofomma  
Source: Researcher, 2015
Plate 7: Main residence of Kwasi Mireku
Source: Researcher, 2015
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, CONCLUSION AND CHALLENGES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Ghanaian shrines are important for the veneration of ancestors and deities, therefore should be preserved. In order to preserve the information and activities of a shrine, it is appropriate that it is documented adequately. Although shrines serve as symbolic repositories of information, (Insoll, Kankpeyeng and Maclean 2009), it appears that a lot of shrines in Ghana have been neglected. Their neglect is based on the fact that they are not adequately documented for the purpose of learning and research. This research has looked at a number of shrines in the Ghanaian context and their significance. Shrine documentation would help in the preservation of the material culture of those possessing the shrines. This research cannot end without considering certain things which are indispensable. This chapter reviews the summary of the study, conclusion, suggestions or recommendations as well as challenges of the research.

5.1 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to document adequately the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu so that people can acquire knowledge about it. This documentation has become necessary because the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu is gradually losing its institutional memory. The research examines the background of the study area taking into consideration the history and location of Pepease-Kwahu. It also reviews the statement of problem, the aim, the objectives, the research questions as well as the methodology, the significance and organisation of the study.

Furthermore, the research reviews types of shrines in Ghana. In doing that review some earth shrines, ancestral shrines, chiefly shrines and community shrines are examined. The significance of these shrines is also reviewed. It again examines some traditional beliefs of
the people of Kwahu as well as the customary practices observed by the people of Pepease-Kwahu. The era before and after the arrival of `Tigare at Pepease-Kwahu is also examined.

Moreover, the research examines the qualitative and quantitative approaches used in collecting data. It again reviews the analysis of the data collected.

In addition to that the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu is adequately reviewed taking into consideration the history of the origin of Pepease Tigare, why the shrine is not documented by members of the cult, the by-laws of the shrine, how one is initiated as a member of the cult, the paraphernalia in use at the shrine, the feasts celebrated at the shrine, the animals used to offer sacrifice to Pepease Tigare and then the functions or significance of Pepease Tigare.

Finally, the research reviews the conclusion, recommendations and then challenges of the study.

5.2 CONCLUSION

This research has helped to adequately document the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu in order to meet the demands of learners who want to acquire sufficient knowledge about the shrine. The research has contributed to knowledge in diverse ways. In the first place, it is realised through the research that members of the cult do not document the history and activities of the shrine due to illiteracy and also as a tradition they inherited from their forefathers. Secondly, Pepease Tigare shrine has by-laws which are meant to regulate the behaviours of members of the shrine. Furthermore, it has helped learners to acquire knowledge about the initiation ceremony of new members at Pepease Tigare shrine.

Moreover, the research has brought to the notice of learners the paraphernalia in use at the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu and the significance of some of them. For instance, the cudgel and spear are used by the priest of the shrine in spiritual warfare. Cola nut is also used by the priest of the shrine to detect witchcraft. In addition to that the research has made known the feasts celebrated at the shrine. Through the research, it is realised that Akwasidae
and Fofie are the two feasts celebrated at the shrine. Finally, this research has brought to notice the animals used to offer sacrifice to Pepease Tigare and why those animals are chosen. The rationale behind this adequate documentation of the shrine is to help in the preservation of the institutional memory of Pepease Tigare shrine which is gradually being lost due to inadequate documentation.

It is vehemently believed that this adequate documentation of the shrine would be a great source of knowledge to people

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS OR SUGGESTIONS

The following recommendations or suggestions can be made on the work of study.

To commence with, I would suggest that the Ghana Museum and Monument Board should register the Tigare shrine at Pepease-Kwahu as a heritage site. This is because the shrine has both tangible and intangible cultural heritage properties. The tangible cultural heritage properties include the deity itself which is represented by the horn of a buffalo, wand, spear, cola nut and schnapps. The intangible cultural heritage properties are the layers of history that these tangible cultural heritage properties carry. These layers of history are meaningful and significant. For instance, the horn of a buffalo is used to symbolise Tigare because hunters are aided to hunt by Tigare. Also, cola nut is used in detecting witches and wizards (Koranteng 1997:50). Again, the wand and the spear are used for arresting witches and wizards. They are also used for spiritual warfare. The shrine has been a centre for tourist attraction and a great source of revenue to the priest as foreigners including Europeans and Americans go there each year. Although the priest in charge of the shrine does not charge these foreigners, they voluntarily give him money. It has also become a centre of learning as foreigners and indigenous people acquire knowledge from the priest of the shrine.

Finally, I would suggest that the current priest of the shrine should document the day today activities and history of the shrine. This would help to prevent loss of institutional memory of the shrine. It must be noted that documentary sources are more durable than oral history.
5.4 Challenges

Few challenges were encountered in the course of the research.

To commence with, getting access to the archives of Kwahu Kyidomhene became a little bit difficult since there was litigation over the chieftaincy of Pepease township. Due to this, the archive room was locked. It was overcome when the Nkonwasuafohene was spoken to and he made the necessary archives accessible to me. The archives obtained were on the history of Pepease.

Finally, some of the priests did not want to welcome me since they did not know why I was doing that research. Although, I explained it to them, they refused to understand. For instance, an old priest at Abetifi asked me to leave her sight.
REFERENCES

Dictionaries


**Internet Sources**


APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire to guide informal interviews

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

RESEARCH TOPIC: A STUDY OF THE TIGARE SHRINE AT PEPEASE, KWAHU

a. Place of interview: Pepease-Kwahu.                     b. Date: .....................................
c. Sex: Both males and females.                          d. Name: .....................................

Sources of information: ..............................................................

SECTION

1. What is the distance from Pepease to Accra?

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2. What is the distance from Pepease to Abetifi?

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3. How many towns surround Pepease?

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4. What is the vegetative cover of the town?

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5. Mention four trees of economic value found in the town.

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6. What cash crops are grown at Pepease?
7. How many basic schools are found at Pepease-Kwahu?

8. How many of them are public schools?

9. How many of them are private schools?

10. How many health centres are found at Pepease-Kwahu?

11. How many brooks are found at Pepease-Kwahu?

12. How many bore-holes are found at Pepease-Kwahu?

13. How many wells are found at Pepease-Kwahu?

14. How many banks are found at Pepease-Kwahu?
15. How many hotels are found at Pepease-Kwahu?
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16. How many guest houses are found at Pepease-Kwahu?
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17. When was Pepease township established?
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18. Who founded Pepease-Kwahu?
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19. What led to the founding of the town?
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20. On what basis can a chief be dethroned?
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21. What language is spoken by the people of Pepease-Kwahu?
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22. What festival is celebrated by the people of Pepease-Kwahu?
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23. What name is given to the stool of Pepease?
24. What is the settlement pattern of Pepease-Kwahu?

25. How was the name Pepease derived?

26. What recreational centres are found in the town?

27. What differentiates Kwahu people from other tribes?

28. What type of soil is found at Pepease?

29. Is there a senior high school at Pepease -Kwahu?

30. If yes what is the name of this senior high school?

31. Does Pepease have access to electricity?
32. Does Pepease have tarred roads in the town?

33. How many chiefs have ruled over Pepease so far?

34. What is the population of Pepease?

35. What divisional wing in Kwahu is the stool of Pepease?

36. What district is Pepease found?

37. Which people are supposed to rule over Pepease as royals?

38. What system of inheritance is practised by the people of Pepease-Kwahu?

39. Who is the longest serving chief of Pepease?

40. How do the people of Pepease express their beliefs in the Supreme Being?
41. How do the people of Pepease call the Supreme Being?

42. How do the people of Pepease-Kwahu express their belief in deities?

43. How do the people of Pepease express their belief in ancestors?

44. What are customary practices?

45. What is puberty rite?

46. How is bragoro done by the people of Pepease-Kwahu?

47. How is a child named by the people of Pepease-Kwahu?

48. How do the people of Pepease-Kwahu consider marriage with birth?
49. What is the dominant occupation of the people of Pepease-Kwahu?

50. What other economic activities are performed by the people of Pepease-Kwahu?

51. What is Pepease Tigare?

52. Is Tigare the only deity at Pepease-Kwahu?

53. How many Tigare shrines are at Pepease-Kwahu?

54. Where was Tigare brought from to Pepease?

55. Who brought Tigare to Pepease-Kwahu?

56. When was Tigare brought to Pepease-Kwahu?
57. How many deities were at Pepease before Tigare was brought there?

58. How did the people of Pepease-Kwahu receive Tigare?

59. What was the main religion of Pepease before Tigare was brought there?

60. On what basis was Tigare allowed to leave the mother shrine to Pepease?

61. What rituals were done at the place of origin before Tigare was allowed to come to Pepease?

62. Why did the people of Pepease-Kwahu go for Tigare?

63. Who owns Pepease Tigare?

64. How long has Tigare been at Pepease?
65. How many Tigare shrines are in Kwahu?

66. What is used to symbolise Pepease Tigare?

67. Why was the thing used to symbolise Pepease Tigare?

68. How many fetish priests have served Pepease Tigare?

69. On what basis is one chosen to serve as a priest for Pepease Tigare?

70. Can a female being serve Pepease Tigare?

71. Where is the Tigare shrine located at Pepease-Kwahu?

72. Why is Pepease Tigare housed in a room?
73. How many spokespersons does Pepease Tigare priest have?
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74. On what basis is one chosen as the spokesperson for Pepease Tigare?
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75. How is one initiated as a member of Pepease Tigare cult?
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76. What would convince somebody to be a member of the Tigare cult?
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77. Will the person pay some amount of money before being initiated?
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78. If yes why?
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79 Does Pepease Tigare have by-laws?
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80. What are these by-laws?
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81. Why is the Holy Bible used at Pepease Tigare shrine?
82. What paraphernalia are in use at the shrine?

83. What is the significance of all or some of these paraphernalia?

84. Are clienteles supposed to go to the shrine with something?

85. If yes why?

86. What feasts are celebrated at the shrine?

87. What is the rationale behind the celebration of these feasts?

88. What goes into the celebration of the feasts?

89. Are sacrifices offered at the shrine?
90. What animals are used to offer sacrifice at the shrine?

91. Why are those animals chosen to offer sacrifice?

92. In place of those animals can other animals be used?

93. What are the functions of Pepease Tigare?

94. Can any person at all consult Pepease Tigare?

95. If no why?

96. Were there churches at Pepease before Tigare was brought?

97. What were these churches?

98. State the dates for the establishment of these churches from the first to the last.
99. Which people established these churches?

100. Why did they establish those churches?

101. Were those churches established by foreigners or local people?

102. How many people began those churches?

103. Are those churches still in existence?

104. What churches were established at Pepease after Tigare was brought to the town?

105. Did the establishment of those churches affect Tigare?

106. If so how did it affect Tigare?
107. Are those churches still in existence?

108. Were the founders of those churches foreigners or indigenous people?

109. On what basis were those churches established?

110. Does someone swear an oath before becoming a member of Pepease Tigare shrine?

111. What is the main religion of Pepease at the moment?

112. Were the members of the churches which existed before Tigare was brought to Pepease and members of the Tigare cult on good terms?

113. Are members of the churches at Pepease at the moment on good terms with members of the Tigare cult?

114. How many chiefs ruled over Pepease before Tigare was brought there?
115. What are the prohibitions of the Tigare shrine?

116. What will cause one to cease to be a member of the Tigare shrine at Pepease?

117. How many clienteles visit the shrine annually?

118. How many people were members of the shrine before the first priest died?

119. How many people are members of the shrine at the moment?

120. How many times are the feasts of the shrine celebrated annually?

121. What is the significance of those feasts?

122. Mention the names of five people who are beneficiaries of the Tigare shrine?

123. How were they helped by Tigare?
124. Did they become members of the shrine after becoming beneficiaries?

125. Who became the first priest of Pepease Tigare shrine?

126. Was the person chosen by Tigare?

127. How many spokespersons have served the priests of Tigare?

128. What differentiates Tigare from other deities at Pepease?

129. Do the other deities at Pepease have recognition like Tigare?

130. Does Tigare punish those who disobey the by-laws at the shrine?

131. If yes, what is the usual punishment?
132. How does the priest of the shrine detect witches and wizards at the shrine?
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133. Are those possessing witchcraft punished at the shrine?
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134. How many houses were built by the first priest of the shrine?
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135. How many of the houses are found at Pepease?
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136. How many of the houses are in Afram Plains?
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137. How many wives did the first priest of the shrine have?
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138. How many children did the first priest of the shrine have?
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139. What was the main occupation of the first priests of the shrine?
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140. How many years did he do that occupation?
141. Aside from that main occupation did he do any other economic activity?

142. Did the first priest educate his children in schools?

143. Which schools did he educate his children?

144. Why did he educate them in those schools?

145. What were the functions of the first priest of the shrine?

146. What was the main philosophy of the first priest of the shrine?

147. How did he express that philosophy?

148. When did the first priest of the shrine die?
149. How long did he serve as the priest of the shrine?

150. How did the people of Pepease-Kwahu regard the first priest of the shrine?

151. How does Tigare detect adulterous people?

152. Does he punish them after detection?

153. If so what punishment does he give to them?

154. What is Tigare aduru (medicine)?

155. What is it used for?

156. How efficacious is it?
157. What processes do clientele go through at the shrine before being attended to?

158. When did the post-Tigarean era start at Pepease?

159. What are the characteristics of this era?

160. Does the priest entertain curse at the shrine?

161. What punishment is given to those who curse at the shrine?

162. What punishment is given to those who steal at the shrine?

163. Did the first priest of the shrine win an award?

164. If yes, what was this award?
165. How did the Christian congregations at Pepease-Kwahu see the first priest of the shrine?

166. How many chiefs have ruled over Pepease since the arrival of Tigare?

167. Do they all accept Tigare as their official deity?

168. What liquor is used to make libation at the shrine?

169. After libation does the priest drink the rest of the liquor?

170. Aside from the priest can any other person make libation at the shrine?

171. Are liquors for libation sold solely at the shrine or one can buy it outside the shrine?

172. Is there a deity more powerful than Tigare at Pepease?

173. If yes, mention the name of that deity.
174. What makes that deity more powerful than Tigare?

175. What is the relationship between the first priest and the current priest of the shrine?

176. Does it correspond to the system of inheritance of the Kwahu people?

177. How many priests are supposed to serve Pepease Tigare at a time?

178. Why was the site for the location of the shrine chosen?

179. How many times do members of the shrine meet weekly?

180. Do foreigners go to the shrine?

181. If yes, do they go there frequently?
182. What do they normally go there to do?

183. Are they charged when they go to the shrine?

184. If yes, how much money is charged?

185. Are indigenous people also charged when they go to the shrine?

186. If yes, how much money is charged?

187. Do local people visit the shrine more than foreigners?

188. If yes why?

189. Are the names of clientele written in a special notebook at the shrine?

190. Is it obligatory for those who consult the shrine to show their appreciation to Tigare if they succeed?
191. If yes, what happens to someone who fails to show his appreciation to Tigare?

192. Are people permitted to take the photograph of the deity?

193. If yes, are rituals performed before this is done?

194. Does the ritual require the payment of money by the person willing to take the photograph?

195. Do members of Tigare Agofomma pay dues at the shrine?

196. If yes, how much do they pay?

197. Is the payment made daily, weekly, monthly or annually?

198. What happens to those who fail to pay their dues?
199. Does the priest of the shrine have a secretary who records events at the shrine?

200. Does the priest of the shrine pay dues to the mother shrine annually?

APPENDIX 2

Interviews with Kwadwo Amoa

First interview: 20th April, 2015.

1 Question: Why is Pepease Tigare shrine not documented by members of the shrine?
Answer: It is a tradition I inherited from my father.

2. Question: When was Tigare brought from Yipala?
Answer: It was in 1945.

3. Question: What are the by-laws of Tigare?
Answer: Members of the shrine shall not commit adultery.
Members of the shrine shall not steal.
Members of the shrine shall not curse or poison any person.
Members of the shrine shall not envy the properties of other people.
Members of the shrine shall not bear false witness or evidence against other people.
Members of the shrine shall hold the name of Tigare in deep reverence.

4. Question: How is one initiated into the cult?
Answer: One is initiated as a true member of the Tigare cult after the person is taught the by-laws and also made to know the benefits he would get when he is initiated. The prospective candidate out of his own volition would decide whether to be a member of the cult or not.
Thus, the initiation of people into the cult is not by compulsion. If the prospective candidate shows willingness to become a member of the cult, the priest in charge of the shrine would perform some rites to initiate him.

In the first place, the prospective candidate is given a piece of cola nut by the priest in charge of the shrine. The priest then recites some words to indicate that the prospective candidate has exercised his free will in a positive sense. Tigare is then invoked by the priest of the shrine to protect and bless the prospective candidate in all his undertakings. The cola nut is consecrated and the prospective candidate is asked to chew it together with the priest of the shrine. After that, the prospective candidate is white-clayed on the forehead as a sign of victory. At the end of each year, if he derives some benefits from the shrine, he goes to the shrine to express his gratitude to Tigare by giving some offering in the form of money in order to show appreciation to Tigare. This is called the initiation ceremony of Tigare.


1. Question: What paraphernalia are in use at the shrine?

Answer: The following paraphernalia are in use at the shrine.

To commence with, there is a talisman in the gown of the priest. This is worn by the priest of the shrine. Aside from that, there are also knives, beads, knocking stones, black powder, cudgels, drums with sheep’s skin and cola nut.

2. Question: What are the functions of Pepease Tigare?

Answer: They are protection, prosperity, curing infertility and others.

3. Question: What feasts are celebrated at the shrine?

Answer: These feasts are Akwasidae which is celebrated once in every forty days on Sunday and then Fofie which is celebrated once in every forty days on Friday. During those feasts free food and drinks are provided by the priest in charge of the shrine. General dance takes place at the shrine where the feasts are celebrated. A ram is slaughtered and it is used to
prepare a meal at the shrine. The Akwasidae feast is celebrated because of the link of the deity with the Kyidomhene stool.

4. Question: What animals are used to offer sacrifice at the shrine?

Answer: The blood of five animals is used to feed Pepease Tigare. These animals are rams, fowls, guinea fowls, cats and dogs. These animals are chosen based on the instruction given by the mother shrine when Kwasi Mireku, the first priest of Pepease Tigare shrine went for Tigare from Yipala. In other words, those animals are chosen as sacrificial animals in order to meet the customary demand of the mother shrine at Yipala.

5. Question: What was the situation at Pepease before Tigare was brought there?

Answer: There were some Christian churches and some deities at Pepease.

6. Question: What is the situation at the moment?

Answer: New churches have been established but still people come to the shrine.

APPENDIX 3


1. Question: What is Pepease Tigare?

Answer: It is the official deity for Kwahu Kyidomhene.

2. Question: When was it brought from Yipala?

Answer: I do not know the exact year.

3. Question: Which deities were at Pepease before Tigare was brought?

Answer: I only know of “Aberewa” and “Brakune”.

4. Question: Was Tigare welcomed by the people of Pepease-Kwahu.

Answer: Yes.

5. Question: What paraphernalia are in use at the shrine?

Answer: I only know of spear and cudgel.

6. Question: What are the by-laws of the Tigare shrine?

Answer: I do not know.
7. What feasts are celebrated at the shrine?

Answer: They are Akwasidae and Fofie.