Maisi Sasuduik: Restrengthening the Implementation of the Concept of al-Ba`ah in some Minangkabaunese Traditional Marriages

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Abstract

This article aims at restrengthening the implementation of the al-ba`ah concept in maisi sasuduik tradition of some Minangkabaunese marriage customs because some people think that this tradition is just a custom and has nothing to do with Islamic teachings. Maisi sasuduik is an obligation for a prospective groom before marriage. This research uses a qualitative approach by which the data were collected through interviews with several community figures and from relevant literature. The descriptive and inductive theories were used in analyzing the data. The results of the research showed that some people believe that this custom has nothing to do with Islamic teachings. The finding reveal that marriages are sometimes postponed and some are even annulled because the men do not agree to fulfill maisi sasuduik custom. According to the concept of al-ba`ah in Islam, a man must prepare a house for his wife to live in because he will take her there after marriage. For Minangkabaunese men, they are not required to prepare a house to live in before marriage because they will live in the wives’ house. Based on the concept of al-ba`ah, Maisi sasuduik describes a man’s al-ba`ah (ability) to perform a marriage. Therefore, the custom of maisi sasuduik is an
implementation of Islamic teachings regarding the necessity of having an al-\textit{ba’ab} before marriage.

**Keywords:** Minangkabaunese customs; \textit{maisi sasuduik}; restrengthening; implementation; the concept of al-\textit{ba’ab}; marriage;

**Introduction**

The concept of al-\textit{ba’ab} is practiced by Islamic communities in accordance with the traditions prevailing in their respective regions to prove the economic capabilities of a man who is about to marry. Marriage customs in Sulawesi recognize the term \textit{panaik} money, Malay customs practice \textit{hantar} money, \textit{dapur} (kitchen) money, Banjar and Lampung customs use the term \textit{jujur} money, and so on. Meanwhile, in some areas of Minangkabau use the term \textit{maisi sasuduik}. Unlike other areas in Indonesia, Minangkabau men do not have to prepare/build a house before marriage because they live in their wives’ house after marriage. This means that his in-laws have prepared a house. Therefore \textit{maisi sasuduik} is a request to a man who is getting married to buy furnishings for the prospective bride’s room in her house. According to Nabilla Hanifah, it is not uncommon for marriages to be broken off because the man is unwilling to buy the bedding, or for elopements to occur because of customs that are considered heavy. This has happened in Lima Puluh Kota Regency and Payakumbuh City for instance.\(^1\) Minangkabau men are supposed to carry out these requirements as part of their religious obligations, with \textit{adat basandi syara’ syara’ bersendi kitabullah} (customs based on religious rules), but it is considered a tradition that has been supplemented by custom.

Research on the same subject had been carried out by earlier scholars and can be divided into four categories. The first was research on the obligations of men to do \textit{maisi sasuduik} in marriage other than dowry, which was seen from the perspective of Islamic law (\textit{urf}), as carried out by Nabilla Hanifah.\(^2\) Second, research that integrated customary law and Islamic law, as carried out by Felia Wati.\(^3\) The third study with a sociological perspective on religion was conducted by Anisa Umulhusni and Siti Nur Fathoni,\(^4\) and fourth,\(^1\)


\(^2\) Hanifah.


research on the same topic (men’s obligations other than dowry) that occurred in traditions outside Minangkabau, such as research by Ramla Winda Lapanca,\(^5\) Mahmud Huda and Nova Evanti,\(^6\) Mursyid Jawas et al.,\(^7\) Siti Suroh,\(^8\) and Ferry Antoni.\(^9\) These four categories of research have differences with the research conducted by the author, where this research more emphasizes on the restrengthening the implementation of the \textit{al-ba’ab} concept in \textit{maisi sasuduik} custom practiced in part of the Minangkabaunese marriage customs. Previous studies analyzed the ‘urf side, the integration of custom and religion, and the benefits to be realized with these traditions. Furthermore, previous research did not clearly explain that the customs carried out in the \textit{maisi sasuduik} tradition are actual Islamic teachings, and not just producing of maslaha and not contradicting Islam.

This research aims at making the Minangkabaunese understand that \textit{maisi sasuduik} tradition they have been practicing is one of the marriage rules in Islam that must be followed, and not an additional requirement made up by traditional leaders. To achieve this goal, two questions were raised in this research. First, what is the obligation of a man to fulfill \textit{maisi sasuduik} requirements for a some Minangkabaunese marriage? Second, how is the concept of \textit{al-ba’ab} in \textit{maisi sasuduik} tradition implemented in Minangkabaunese marriage customs? These two questions guided the data search and analysis process to draw conclusions from this research.

The qualitative approach was used in conducting this research and the data were obtained through interviews with several traditional leaders and ulama, and from relevant literature. The obtained data were then classified according to the topic discussed and then written according to the classification of the topic. The descriptive theory was used to analyzed the data; they were written according to actual events\(^{10}\) which were supported by additional explanations by the author for a clearer understanding. The inductive analysis

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\(^{10}\) Sugiono, \textit{Metode Penelitian (Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Dan R&D)} (Bandung: CV Alfabeta, 2016).
was also used in this research, which was the interpretation of specific data to then draw general conclusions.\textsuperscript{11}

Discussion

\textit{Maisi Sasuduik in Some Minangkabaunese Wedding Customs}

Minangkabau is a traditional territory that covers the entire province of West Sumatra except for the district of Mentawai.\textsuperscript{12} and several other provinces, such as parts of Riau province (land part) and also parts of Jambi province.\textsuperscript{13} In this traditional area there is a traditional philosophy that is very well known to this day, it is \textit{adat basandi syara’ dan syara’ basandi kitabullah, syara’ mangato adat mamakai}. At first glance, this proverb suggests that the customs practiced by the Minangkabau are religious customs based on the sources of Islamic teachings, they are the Quran and Hadiths. It can be said that Minangkabaunese customs are Islamic teachings if practicing Islam means practicing customs,\textsuperscript{14} according to some parties, Minangkabau is identified with Islam, and custom must give in to religion.\textsuperscript{15}

However, the position of women in Minangkabaunese customs is different from that of women anywhere in the Islamic world. As a matrilineal traditional territory, they are positioned as inheritors and holders of birthrights for the descendants they are born with, so it is not surprising that Minangkabau children have a lineage to their mother’s tribe.\textsuperscript{16} In this position, Minangkabaunese women continue to live in their family house (so-called \textit{Rumah Gadang}) and when they marry, their husband must come and live in the \textit{Rumah Gadang}. The husband’s position in the \textit{Rumah Gadang} is not strong because the house is not his home. Therefore, a husband in his wife’s house, according to Salma, is called “langau di ateh kabau atau abu di ateh tunggua.”\textsuperscript{17} (flies


\textsuperscript{13} Idrus Hakimy Dr. Rajo Penghulu, \textit{Pokok-Pokok Pengetahuan Adat Alam Minangkabau} (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2007), 18–26.


\textsuperscript{17} Salma Salma and Burhanuddin Burhanuddin, “Kajian ‘Urf Pada Tradisi Rompak Paga Di Luhak Lima Puluh Kota Sumatera Barat,” \textit{Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial} 12, no. 2
landing on buffalo and ashes on stumps), If it is blown, it will fly. This means that men have a weak position in terms of property ownership, and this affects leadership in the family.

The above brief overview of the customs and position of Minangkabaunese women is closely related to the marriage process in Minangkabaunese customs. Men who marry Minangkabaunese women do not have to prepare a house for them to live in because the woman has already prepared it. A man simply comes to his wife’s Rumah Gadang with his personal needs such as clothes, and then he becomes a new member of Rumah Gadang. The man’s arrival was also not spontaneous, but was preceded by a pick-up process as a form of respect for him as a newcomer, as well as pride for his wife’s family. In accordance with Islamic teachings, the obligation to pay the dowry is only at the time of the marriage ceremony, and this is added to the customary provisions for maisi sasuduik in most of the Minangkabau region. The implementation of the walimah (party) after the contract is carried out according to the capabilities of each party in their respective parents’ homes.

Maiisi sasuduik is a customary provision that is generally applied in Minangkabau, especially in Lima Puluah Kota Regency and Payakumbuh City. This term is interpreted as the man’s obligation to prepare a set of contents in the bride’s room in the form of a wardrobe, bed and mattress, blankets, pillows, dressing table, and so on, which are usually found in a bride’s room. Basically, maisi sasuduik traditional rules do not specify the amount of money, but rather the ability of the prospective groom and the social status of the woman to be married. The higher the social status of the woman, for example, if she comes from a rich family, the more the man must adjust to it, and vice versa. In some cases, this is not the case, where a man may only prepare funds according to his ability and the woman is willing to do so for the marriage to take place. In other cases, however, marriages are sometimes annulled simply because the man cannot, or will not, fulfill the requirements of the maisi sasuduik. This may


20 Desembri, “Interview” (Payakumbuh, 2023).

occur because the woman does not see the man’s ability to demonstrate his financial capability as a man who is able to provide for his wife after marriage.

According to Tasrul Dt. Paduko Tuan (traditional figure of Nagari Situjuah Banda Dalam in Lima Puluh Kota Regency), this *maisi sasuduik* custom has been in effect for a long time and its implementation is based on the agreement of the two families who are getting married. He further said:

“This *maisi sasuduik* agreement existed to complete the household facilities that the bride and groom needed for their use in their bedroom. There could be an agreement not to do this, but the man should not be disappointed if at his wife’s house the man would *lalok diateh lapiak, indak babanta, indak basalimuik* (sleep only on the mat, no pillows and blankets). “Thus, *maisi sasuduik* was required to depend on the capabilities of the men, and this was also a matter of pride for the women, as well as avoiding gossip and insults from the community”.

The early history and causes of the *maisi sasuduik* custom are not known for certain, as it is considered only a matter of propriety for a man getting married. However, there is information conveyed by Desembri (an ulama figure in Payakumbuh):

“Initially, *maisi sasuduik* was related to an incident where there was a man from an ordinary background who wanted to propose to a woman from a rich family. His proposal was not accepted because he was considered inferior and also caused gossip in the community. This man then shouted to the crowd, “*asa lai jadi, manga alek gadang, tampek nan ka den huni situ pokoknyo sagalo isi biliak tu den antaan ka rumah calon den tu*” (If my proposal is accepted, let alone a luxurious party, I will buy all the furniture in the room for her). I first heard this from my teacher when I was 10 years old, when I was attending a training for young preachers. My teacher did not say where and when the incident occurred. Then the man’s action was imitated and followed by many people and has become a custom to this day.”

Based on the author’s interviews with several of the above-mentioned informants, it can be explained again that the *maisi sasuduik* custom is a community custom and is considered a necessity before going into a marriage contract. From a historical point of view, the cause of this custom cannot be fully traced, but it was once done by someone, and then it looked good and was followed by other people, thus in the end it became a marriage custom that could not be abandoned. Another consideration is that a man does not prepare a house for his wife before marriage, hence it is normal for him to play a role in preparing the contents of the house (especially the bridal chamber) that he will

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23 Desembri, “Interview.”
use after the wedding. Thus, *maisi sasuduik* is a process that takes place before the marriage contract.

The giving to women before marriage in Minangkabau does not only occur in the form of *maisi sasuduik*, because this term is more popular in Limapuluh Kota Regency and Payakumbuh City. Even in Manggilang Villages, Limapuluh Kota Regency, besides *maisi sasuduik*, a man is also required to give *piti balanjo* (shopping money) every week to the woman starting from fifty thousand rupiah to five hundred thousand rupiah according to their means. Meanwhile, for other areas in Minangkabau, the terms used are different and the forms of giving are also different. Ismail (an ulama figure in Banu Hampu, Agam Regency), said that in his area a man is required to give a set of clothes to women before marriage in the form of songket cloth, three sets of brackets, women's bags, umbrellas, make-up tools, blankets, etc. plus spending money of one million rupiah. Meanwhile, Akmal (an ulama figure in Baso, Agam Regency), said that *maisi sasuduik* is sometimes carried out according to an agreement, but the most obligatory thing is to give one million rupiah in kitchen money, whether asked or not by the woman. For the Bukittinggi City area, the traditions are almost the same. Alfin (Chair of the Bukittinggi City Ulama Council), said that a man must give women complete clothing, both daily clothes for at home and clothes for leaving the house. Thus, it seems that Minangkabau custom requires men to give something to women before marriage with different terms and forms of giving.

To find out the position of *maisi sasuduik* in Minangkabau customs, we will first mention the various customs known in Minangkabau. The first is *adat nan sabana adat*, which is considered the most basic and principal custom in the life of the Minangkabau people. This adat regulates manners and the social norms that form the basis for the life of the Minangkabau people. For example, adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah, the matrilineal adat (the system of inheritance of property and land ownership that is passed down through the mother's line), the custom of deliberation in making decisions, the custom of silaturrahmi (visiting family and neighbors) regularly and maintaining the harmony of social relations, and the custom of gotong royong or mutual assistance in the community. When there are community members who experience difficulties or calamities, all community members are expected to

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25 Ismail, “Interview” (Banu Hampu, Agam Regency, 2024).
26 Akmal, “Interview” (Baso, Agam Regency, 2024).
27 Aidil Alfin, “Interview” (Bukittinggi City, 2024).
provide assistance and support together.

Second, adat nan diadatkan, which is a tradition that has been passed down from generation to generation and has become part of the daily life of the Minangkabau people. Adat in this category according to Ibnu Amin was born from the minds of two legendary figures who invented Minangkabau customs, namely Datuak Katumanggunan and Datuak Parpatiah Nan Sabatang. This includes various rituals, ceremonies and traditions carried out by the community. Fakhrul Fahmi said that adat in this category regulates social culture and law, as stated in undang-undang nan duo puluah (the laws of twenty) and cupak nan ampek (the four hickeys). The term in Minangkabau customary law that refers to twelve customary laws that are considered the most important in the life order of the Minangkabau people. The twelve customary laws are rules that are considered the foundation and guide for the social, economic and religious life of the Minangkabau people. Although these laws were not formally written down, they have been passed down from generation to generation and are held dear by the Minangkabau people as an integral part of their culture and identity. While the details of the twelve customary laws may vary, generally, they cover rules relating to inheritance law, land ownership, agriculture, marriage, religion, customs and community governance. The existence of these laws reflects the complex and structured system of customary law that governs community life.

Third, adat nan teradat, which is traditions or customs that develop and change over time, especially in response to social, economic and cultural changes. Adat nan teradat is often an adaptation of existing customs or a new development that occurs in society. Yosi Wulandari et.al., said that this custom was originally a pleasant behavior that was carried out repeatedly and supported by the community. For example, the development of traditional music, changes in clothing patterns, the use of modern tools in various traditional ceremonies, the absorption of foreign languages as part of the Minang language, and so on. Fatahuddin Aziz Siregar et.al., said that such customs may differ from one region to another in Minangkabau, such as different customs in the marriage process. The adat nan taradat shows that Minangkabau culture is

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dynamic and responsive to changing times, while still maintaining its cultural roots and traditional values.

The fourth is *adat istiadat*, which is Minangkabau culture that includes various rituals, ceremonies and traditions carried out in the context of religion, marriage, death, and other important events in people’s lives. For example, wedding ceremonies with Minang cultural symbols, child birth ceremonies, circumcision ceremonies, death ceremonies, harvest ceremonies, welcoming important guests, and others. Customs in Minangkabau culture are not only a part of daily life, but also an expression of the cultural identity and togetherness of the Minangkabau people.

As described earlier, the Minangkabau people are followers of Islam and always link their customs to Islamic teachings. *Maisi sasuduik* does not seem to be an Islamic teaching because in an Islamic marriage, the man’s obligation is only to pay the dowry at the time of the marriage contract. Several informants interviewed by the author also did not say that there were Islamic teachings practiced in the *maisi sasuduik* custom. Desembri said that the observance of the *maisi sasuduik* custom did not come from religious orders. This was also told by Tasrul Dt. Panduko Tuan that this had nothing to do with religion, it was just a matter of custom. Muhammad Fajri (religious scholar) said that this tradition had nothing to do with the pillars and legal conditions of marriage in Islam. This statement is in accordance with the terms and conditions of marriage. As explained, Islamic law does not mention gifts from a man as a measure of the validity of a marriage in Islam before going into a marriage contract. Based on the categories of Minangkabau customs described above, *maisi susuduik* can be categorized into adat nan teradat. This indication can be seen from the implementation of *maisi sasuduik* which is not evenly distributed throughout the Minangkabau region.

Based on the above information, it does not appear that there is any relevance of Islamic teachings to the *maisi sasuduik* custom, at least that can be understood from the results of the author’s interviews with several informants. This can be understood for several reasons. First, during the negotiations, the families of the men and women never mentioned religion when discussing the amount of *maisi sasuduik* money. Second, *maisi sasuduik* is considered only a traditional process, thus it does not appear to be a religious teaching. Third, there were no clerics who appeared to explain it, either in family meetings or in

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34 Desembri, “Interview.”
35 Tuan, “Interview.”
36 Muhammad Fajri, “Interview” (Mungka Lima Puluh Kota, 2023).
their lectures to the public. These three things are believed to have caused people to know only that *maisi sasduik* is only a custom, which is why some people object to it because it adds religious provisions to marriage.

**The Concept of Al-Ba’ab in Islamic Marriage**

Marriage is the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad SAW that must be followed by every Muslim, both men and women. People who deny the Sunnah are categorized by the Prophet as not belonging to his people, according to the hadith of Riwayat ibn Majah.\(^{38}\) In another hadith, the Prophet motivated his people to get married, one of which is the words of the Prophet to young people who already have the ability (*al-ba’ab*) to get married immediately, and if they are not able, they are recommended to fast to reduce their lust.\(^{39}\) Therefore, having *al-ba’ab* is a must for a man before getting married.

The term *al-ba’ab* in marriage has been studied by scholars, both classical and contemporary. According to Imam al-Nawawi, *al-ba’ab* is interpreted as the ability to perform sexual intercourse (coitus) and the ability to provide a livelihood.\(^{40}\) Placing the ability to perform *jimak* (coitus) in the first place is not possible to determine the priority, but only to mention it. This is as stated by Abdul Gaffar, etc., that it is impossible for the main meaning of *al-ba’ab* to be the ability to perform sexual intercourse (coitus), because people who are able to perform sexual intercourse are not asked to fast. The logical meaning is the economic ability to finance the wedding.\(^{41}\) Earlier, Imam al-Syaafi’i explained that the ability to provide a living is not only related to food, drink and clothing, but also to a decent house and household furniture according to the husband’s ability. This was also stated by a contemporary cleric, Wahbah al-Zuhayli. Al-Zuhayli even added that the husband’s ability to pay for his wife’s treatment when she is sick.\(^{42}\)

Based on this, it appears that the men Prophet ordered to marry were those who had the financial capacity to finance their marriage both before and

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during the marriage. One of the things he had to prepare for the wedding was a house for his wife to live in and the household furniture needed in the house. If it refers to the actions of the Prophet, besides the dowry, he also prepared a house for his wives to live in around the Nabawi mosque.\textsuperscript{43} This was followed by his sahabah (the companions of the Prophet Muhammad). Although in some cases there are Sahabah who were poor and had no dowry at all to give to the women they wanted to marry except an iron ring or the recitation of memorized verses from the Quran,\textsuperscript{44} However, this was only an exception (not general) with certain considerations reflected in their dialog with the Prophet.\textsuperscript{45} However, as for the dwelling (house), they still prepare it for their wives according to their abilities.

The importance of \textit{al-ba'ah} for a man in marriage is not only related to giving a dowry, but also to his obligations as head of the household. According to Allah’s provisions in chapter Al-Baqarah verse 233, married men are required to support their children in the form of food and clothing. In accordance with the main purpose of marriage (\textit{maqasid al-asliyah}) to obtain offspring as stated by al-Shatibi,\textsuperscript{46} Thus, before offspring are obtained, their ability to provide for the family’s future needs must logically be considered. This is because the care and protection of offspring in the form of food, drink, clothing, and shelter is a man’s duty from the \textit{daruriyah} (primary) aspect. Therefore, the Prophet Muhammad’s instructions to have \textit{al-ba’ah} before marriage are very relevant to achieve the main goal of marriage (\textit{maqasid al-asliyah}) and for someone to be able to fulfill his obligations in caring for and protecting his offspring on the \textit{daruriyah} (primary) level.

**Implementation of the \textit{al-Ba’ah} Concept in the Maisi Sasuduik Tradition in Minangkabau**

Basically, every region in Indonesia and in other Islamic countries has certain traditions in conducting weddings. Traditions formed by certain communities are a civilization that was born from the desire to make something


\textsuperscript{45} Yenti et al., “A Set of Prayer Outfits as a Mahar? Discrimination against Women in the ‘Urf Reality of the Archipelago’s Fiqh.”

have good value and create benefits for the community.\textsuperscript{47} The same goes for traditions in Muslim marriages. For example, the tradition in Aceh of expensive dowries that a man must give at his wedding. The more expensive the dowry, the higher the prestige of the woman’s family in society. As a result, men are often unable to marry and end up committing adultery.\textsuperscript{48} The same thing happens with the tradition of panaiik money in Bugis customs, which is also very high. Panaiik money is a gift from the groom to the bride to help meet her wedding needs. Apart from this, the groom also must pay sompa (dowry) which is also quite high. When converted, the dowry price stated in the marriage contract can be worth a house or a piece of land. All this is a tradition of appreciation and respect for the prospective bride. The higher a woman’s social status, the more expensive her panaiik and dowry.\textsuperscript{49} No matter how high or low the price a man must pay for a woman, this also shows a man’s ability to marry.

Of course, Minangkabau, with its matrilineal system, also has marriage traditions that seem similar to those of other regions that adhere to a patrilineal system. However, the similarities are not the same because Minangkabau men do not have to prepare a house for their wife to live in before marriage, at least this is the general rule. After marriage, he moves from his parents’ house to his wife’s available house (living in his in-laws’ house). Thus, the measure of his abilities is not visible except through the dowry he pays or the work he does. He will live in his wife’s family and work on his wife’s inheritance because Minangkaunese women are the owners of the inheritance.\textsuperscript{50} In this context, during the application process, the woman’s family asks maisi sasuduik to provide the bride’s room, such as a bed, mattress, blanket, pillow, wardrobe, dressing table, etc., to see if he is fit to marry.

Based on the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW regarding \textit{al-ba’ab} as a condition for going into a marriage, and it was practiced by the Prophet and his companions (saahabah), then the ulama have also explained the meaning of \textit{al-ba’ab} in their books. Thus, for men who are getting married, they must first have financial capacity. This ability must be demonstrated to the women to give them confidence that the man can provide for their daughters and their future offspring. Maisi sasuduik is not just a custom, but an implementation of the

concept of *al-ba’ab* in Islam that must be followed by a man. Therefore, it is not appropriate to deny the request for *maisi sasuduik* or to annul the marriage because he did not accept its provisions. Compared to other areas, Minangkabaunese men have an easier time getting married because they do not have to prepare a house, whether they own it or rent it. They just come to the house that is available and buy furniture for the room. Thus, *maisi sasuduik* is not a custom that is not based on Islamic teachings, on the contrary, it has implemented Islamic teachings in conducting marriages.

**Conclusion**

The *maisi sasuduik* tradition is a Minangkabaunese marriage custom that applies to almost all Minangkabau regions. The man must provide a set of household necessities to fill the empty room in the bride’s house in the form of a bed, mattress, blanket, pillow, wardrobe, dressing table, etc. according to the man's ability or agreement. both sides. Some people consider this custom to be just a customary provision for conducting a marriage and has nothing to do with the Islamic teachings followed by the Minangkabau people. As a result, marriages are sometimes postponed and some are even cancelled because the men do not agree to fulfill the *maisi sasuduik* custom. Referring to Islamic teachings, the Prophet Muhammad SAW required *al-ba’ab* (financial capability) for men before marriage. A man must prepare a house and furnishings because after the marriage ceremony, he will bring his wife to the house. For Minangkabau men, there is no need to prepare the house and all its furniture before marriage because he will live in a house prepared by the woman. Therefore, when *maisi sasuduik* is asked, that is where he shows his *al-ba’ab* (ability) to perform the wedding. Therefore, the *maisi sasuduik* custom is not just a custom invented by traditional figures, but a tradition to implement Islamic teachings regarding the necessity of having *al-ba’ab* before marriage. This article is not final. There are still weaknesses, including the field data sources that did not include all components in society and the analysis that did not comprehensively compare other Indonesian marriage traditions. Therefore, future researchers can conduct the same research with more comprehensive questions and data sources.

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