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## The *Greun* System in Lamaholot Customary Marriage: A Maslahah Mursalah Perspective in Islamic Family Law

<sup>1</sup>Zainal Jamin, <sup>2</sup>Kasuwi Saiban, <sup>3</sup>Faishal Agil Al Munawar, <sup>4</sup>Abdurrahman Muhammad Mushab

<sup>1,3</sup>Fakultas Ushuluddin, UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Fakultas Hukum, Universitas Merdeka Malang, Indonesia

<sup>4</sup>Master of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Heritage in Fiqh and Usul al-Fiqh, International Islamic University Malaysia, Malaysia

\*email corresponding author: [zainaljamin12@gmail.com](mailto:zainaljamin12@gmail.com)

**Article history:** Received: February 06, 2026; Revised: February 24, 2026;

Accepted March 1, 2026; Published: March 31, 2026

### ARTICLE INFO

**Cite this article in APA style as:**

Zainal Jamin, *et al.* (2026).

The *Greun* System in Lamaholot Customary Marriage: A Maslahah Mursalah Perspective in Islamic Family Law.

*Kalosara Family Law Review*, 6 (1), 57-71.

**DOI:**

10.31332/kalosara.v6i1.13420

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### ABSTRACT

The *greun* system is a customary mechanism used by the Lamaholot people in regulating marriage based on kinship relations and tribal structure. In practice, *greun* is often used as the main reference before marriage takes place, even preceding religious considerations. This study addresses the gap in integrating local customary marriage practices with the framework of *maṣlahah mursalah* in Islamic legal theory. This article aims to examine the *greun* system through the *maṣlahah mursalah* approach in order to assess the legitimacy and limits of its applicability in Islamic marriage law. This research uses a qualitative method with a normative-empirical approach, through the analysis of the literature on *fiqh* proposals and interviews with traditional and religious leaders in Leworaja Village, Lembata Regency. The results of the study show that *greun* functions as a customary norm that regulates the selection of mates and maintains social order in the Lamaholot community. *Maṣlahah Mursalah* provides a methodological framework for judging *Greun* as '*urf*' which is judged on the basis of *maqāṣid al-Syārī'ah*. *Greun* is at the level of *maṣlahah ḥājiyyāt* so that it acts as a mechanism of social benefit without having the authority to determine halal-haram or the legality of marriage according to *shari'i*. This article contributes to affirming the distinction between customary and sharia authorities and enriching the study of *fiqh* proposals based on local contexts.

**Keywords:** customary marriage; *greun*; islamic family law; *maṣlahah mursalah*; '*urf*'.

## Introduction

The relationship between Islamic law and local customary law remains a central issue in contemporary *fiqh* studies (Sarmadi et al. 2025), particularly in Muslim societies where customary norms continue to regulate social life. In the context of marriage, adat often functions as a parallel normative system that coexists with, and sometimes precedes, the application of sharia (Anggraeni 2023). One such case is the *greun* system in the Lamaholot community, which serves as a primary customary reference in determining marital eligibility. In practice, *greun* is frequently treated as a binding norm that may overshadow religious considerations, raising a critical question regarding the boundary between customary authority and sharia in regulating marriage. This condition necessitates a more rigorous methodological analysis to prevent the over-sacralization of custom and to ensure its proportional placement within Islamic legal theory (Fauzi 2024).

Previous studies have examined customary marriage practices from various perspectives analyzes the transformation of *belis* values in Lamaholot marriage, focusing on socio-economic dynamics without engaging with *fiqh* methodology (Hamado 2025). Amalia explores inter-tribal marriage prohibitions through a phenomenological approach, yet does not situate these practices within the framework of Islamic legal theory (Amalia 2024). Similarly, Zohiro highlight the role of customary marriage in preventing social conflict, but their analysis remains largely sociological (Zohiro et al. (2024). While these studies acknowledge the social significance of adat, they do not sufficiently address its normative position within Islamic law.(Zohiro et al. 2024). On the other hand, the studies of Ikhwan et al., (Ikhwan, Ismail, and Busyro 2025) and Al-Fikri and Fu'ad, (Ys and Fu'ad 2025) discuss *maṣlaḥah mursalah* as a method of legal reasoning in contemporary Islamic law. However, these works remain largely theoretical and do not apply the concept to concrete local customary practices.

As a result, there is a lack of integrative analysis that connects empirical customary systems with the methodological framework of *maṣlaḥah mursalah*. This gap indicates the absence of a systematic effort to evaluate how local customs function within the epistemological boundaries of Islamic law.

Based on this gap, this study raises the following research questions: (1) how does the *greun* system function within the Lamaholot customary marriage structure? (2) how can *maṣlaḥah mursalah* be applied to assess the legitimacy of *greun* as a form of '*urf*? and (3) what are the limits of customary authority in determining marriage norms within the framework of Islamic law?

This article aims to analyze the *greun* system in Lamaholot custom through the perspective of *maṣlahah mursalah*, in order to clarify its function, position, and limitations within Islamic family law. The analysis emphasizes the distinction between customary norms as social instruments and sharia as the determinant of legal validity.

This study contributes in three ways. First, it offers a methodological contribution by applying *maṣlahah mursalah* to a concrete local customary practice, thereby bridging the gap between theory and empirical reality. Second, it provides a conceptual contribution by affirming the position of *greun* as *'urf* that operates within the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, rather than as a source of halal-haram determination. Third, it presents an empirical contribution by enriching the study of Islamic family law with a context-based analysis of Lamaholot customary marriage. Through this approach, the study seeks to promote a balanced relationship between adat and sharia without undermining the normative authority of Islamic law.

## **Methods**

This study employs a qualitative approach with a normative-empirical research design. The research focuses on analyzing the *greun* system in Lamaholot customary marriage and assessing its position within the framework of *maṣlahah mursalah*. The normative dimension is used to examine the concept of *greun* through the principles of Islamic legal theory, particularly *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, while the empirical dimension aims to understand how *greun* operates in the social practices of the Lamaholot community. This design enables a clear distinction between customary norms and sharia norms while connecting doctrinal analysis with field data.

The research was conducted in Leworaja Village, Wulandoni District, Lembata Regency, where the *greun* system is still actively practiced in customary marriage. Primary data were obtained through in-depth interviews with four informants, consisting of traditional leaders and religious leaders who have direct knowledge of marriage practices in the community. The informants were selected using purposive sampling based on their authority, experience, and involvement in customary and religious decision-making. The inclusion criteria included individuals who (1) are recognized as community authorities, (2) have direct experience in handling marriage-related issues, and (3) possess knowledge of the *greun* system. Among these, two key informants were used as primary sources in the analysis, while the remaining informants functioned as supporting sources for data triangulation.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face in November 2025 using a semi-structured format to allow both consistency and flexibility in data collection. Each interview lasted approximately 45–90 minutes and was conducted in Indonesian and the local Lamaholot language, depending on the informant's preference. With the consent of the participants, all interviews were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed to ensure data accuracy. Field notes were also taken to capture contextual nuances during the interaction.

To ensure data credibility, this study applied source triangulation by comparing information obtained from multiple informants, particularly between traditional and religious leaders. In addition, interpretative cross-checking was conducted to maintain consistency between empirical findings and normative analysis. Key findings were also informally reconfirmed with selected informants to strengthen the validity of interpretations. Ethical considerations were observed throughout the research process. All participants were informed about the purpose of the study, and their participation was voluntary. Verbal consent was obtained prior to the interviews, and confidentiality was maintained by limiting the disclosure of personal identities unless explicitly permitted by the informants. Secondary data were derived from classical *fiqh* literature, including the works of al-Ghazālī and al-Syāṭibī, as well as books and peer-reviewed journal articles relevant to *maṣlaḥah mursalah*, *'urf*, and Islamic family law. These sources were used to construct the analytical framework and support the normative evaluation.

Data analysis was carried out in several stages. First, empirical interview data were organized and coded thematically to identify patterns related to the function, meaning, and application of *greun*. Second, these findings were analyzed normatively using the framework of *maṣlaḥah mursalah*, including *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the hierarchy of *maṣlaḥah*, and the principle of *al-'ādah muḥakkamah*. Third, a critical assessment was conducted to determine the position and limits of *greun* as *'urf* within Islamic law, particularly in distinguishing between its social function and its lack of authority in determining the legality of marriage.

## Findings

### The Concept of *Greun* in the Lamaholot Custom

The findings indicate that *greun* constitutes a central classificatory mechanism within the Lamaholot customary marriage system, particularly in Leworaja Village, where it continues to function as a primary reference in determining marital eligibility. As documented in previous studies, this concept is widely recognized across Lamaholot communities in Solor, Adonara, and Lembata Islands, but remains most strongly practiced in Lembata (Hamado 2025).

Empirical data show that *greun* is not merely a symbolic term, but a normative category that determines whether a woman is considered matrimonially appropriate within a given kinship structure. This classification is rooted in genealogical relations and is collectively understood as part of the living customary law (Fauzi 2024). In practice, *greun* often precedes administrative and even religious considerations in marriage decision-making, indicating its strong authority at the social level. Thus, the findings demonstrate that *greun* operates as a culturally embedded system of classification that structures marital relations within the Lamaholot community.

Further analysis reveals that the meaning of *greun* is conveyed through symbolic cultural language that simplifies complex kinship rules into accessible forms. The metaphor of “*greun*”, as explained by traditional leader (Interview with Dahlil Doni, 2025), represents something valuable and appropriate, indicating that a woman categorized as *greun* is considered “safe” for marriage within customary boundaries. This metaphor does not function to objectify women, but rather as a cultural tool to communicate normative boundaries of permissible and prohibited relationships. The findings show that such symbolic language plays a crucial role in transmitting customary law across generations, particularly in communities where legal norms are not formally codified. In addition, *greun* serves as an educational instrument that introduces younger generations to the structure of kinship-based marriage restrictions. This indicates that the strength of *greun* lies not only in its regulatory function but also in its capacity to internalize social norms through cultural representation.

At the structural level, *greun* operates as a collectively validated mechanism rather than an individual or family-based decision. The determination of whether a prospective bride qualifies as *greun* is typically established through customary deliberation involving traditional authorities who possess genealogical knowledge. This process reflects the institutional character of *greun* within the customary system, even in the absence of written rules. However, the findings also show that the authority of *greun* has undergone a gradual transformation. While it was previously treated as a mandatory requirement, it is now increasingly positioned as a strong recommendation, particularly in contexts where Islamic norms influence social practice (Interview with Dahlil Doni, 2025). Despite this shift, violations of *greun* are still perceived as disruptions to the customary order rather than merely individual deviations. This demonstrates that *greun* remains a binding social norm, although its level of rigidity is becoming more flexible in response to changing normative contexts.

### **The Social Functions of the *Greun* System**

The findings demonstrate that *greun* performs a primary function as a kinship-regulating mechanism within the Lamaholot customary system. By classifying which relationships are considered permissible or prohibited, *greun* provides a structured framework for avoiding marriages that are deemed too close or socially inappropriate within the genealogical order. This function is essential in a community where kinship relations form the basis of social organization (Alber and Thelen 2021). Empirical evidence shows that *greun* acts as a tool for mapping genealogical relations, enabling the community to maintain clarity in inter-clan relationships and to prevent potential disruptions caused by improper marital unions. In this sense, *greun* does not merely regulate individual choices, but standardizes marriage practices at the collective level (Setiawan et al. 2024). The findings thus confirm that *greun* functions as an institutional mechanism that sustains the continuity of kinship structures in the Lamaholot community.

In addition, *greun* plays a significant role in maintaining social harmony and preventing conflict. The findings indicate that marriages that conform to *greun* are more likely to be accepted by the community, thereby reducing the potential for disputes between families and clans. As noted by Nurdin Bakir 2025, adherence to *greun* contributes to social stability and strengthens relational ties between kinship groups. In a highly communal society, where marriage is a collective rather than purely individual matter, the violation of customary norms can lead to broader social tensions (Zohiro et al. 2024). Therefore, *greun* functions as a preventive mechanism that aligns individual marital decisions with collective expectations. This indicates that its role extends beyond regulation toward the preservation of social cohesion. The findings highlight that the effectiveness of *greun* lies in its ability to integrate individual actions into a shared normative framework that prioritizes communal harmony.

Furthermore, the findings reveal that *greun* operates as a system of collective social control reinforced by customary sanctions. Compliance with *greun* is monitored by the community, and violations may result in social or material penalties, indicating that it possesses a binding force within the social domain. These sanctions are not religious in nature, but serve to reinforce adherence to customary norms and to maintain social order. At the same time, *greun* also functions to preserve cultural identity and ancestral values, as it embodies inherited norms that continue to guide social behavior. The findings show that obedience to *greun* is often associated with respect for tradition and communal belonging. Thus, *greun* should be understood not only as a regulatory mechanism

but also as a cultural institution that integrates social control, identity preservation, and normative guidance within the Lamaholot customary system.

### ***Maslahah Mursalah's* Analysis of the *Greun***

The findings indicate that the *greun* system occupies a social-normative position that can be analytically interpreted through the framework of *maṣlahah mursalah*, rather than as a form of binding religious law. Empirical data show that *greun* is consistently understood by both traditional and religious leaders as a customary mechanism that regulates marriage at the social level, without determining its legal validity in Islamic law. This distinction is crucial, as the validity of marriage in Islam remains dependent on the fulfillment of its pillars and conditions as established by the jurists (Adharsyah, Sidqi, and Rizki 2024). In this context, *greun* does not function as a source of halal-haram determination, but as a form of *'urf* that operates within the domain of social order. The findings further demonstrate that the acceptance of *greun* is based on its functional role in maintaining communal stability, rather than on textual legitimacy. Therefore, within the framework of *maṣlahah mursalah*, *greun* can be recognized as a customary practice that is valid insofar as it contributes to social benefit and does not contradict definitive Islamic legal principles (Ys and Fu'ad 2025). This confirms that the normative status of *greun* is instrumental and conditional, rather than theological.

Furthermore, the findings reveal that the primary function of *greun* aligns with the objectives of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, particularly in preserving lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*) and maintaining social honor (*ḥifẓ al-'ird*). Empirical evidence shows that *greun* operates as a preventive mechanism designed to avoid conflicts arising from marriages that violate customary kinship boundaries. In this sense, its role is not to establish legal norms, but to facilitate social harmony within a collective society. This function places *greun* within the category of *maṣlahah ḥājiyyāt*, which aims to remove hardship and sustain social order without being essential to the validity of religious obligations (Santono and Chamdan 2025). This framework is in line with the concept of *maṣlahah mursalah* as a methodological instrument in Islamic law to deal with contemporary social problems that do not have an explicit basis, while maintaining the public interest and not contradicting the principles of sharia (Najib, Huda, and Faizal 2025). The findings confirm that the absence of *greun* does not invalidate marriage in Islamic law, but may lead to social tension and relational disruption within the community. This distinction reinforces that *greun* operates at the level of social necessity rather than legal obligation. Consequently,

it should be understood as a complementary mechanism that supports the realization of benefit, rather than as a substitute for Islamic legal authority.

At the same time, the findings emphasize that the applicability of *greun* within the framework of *maṣlahah mursalah* is inherently limited and conditional. As a form of *'urf*, its acceptance depends on its conformity with the principles of Islamic law, particularly the requirement that it does not contradict *qaṭ'ī* texts or produce greater harm (Najib, Huda, and Faizal 2025). The principle of *al-'ādah muḥakkamah* supports the recognition of custom, but only when it qualifies as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* (Mahfudhi and Arrosid 2021). Empirical data indicate that *greun* generally fulfills this condition, as its prohibitions are social rather than theological and its sanctions are customary rather than religious. However, the findings also show that tensions may arise when *greun* is treated as an absolute rule that restricts individual rights recognized in Islamic law. In such cases, its position must be critically re-evaluated to prevent the over-sacralization of custom. This is consistent with the principle of prioritizing the prevention of harm over the attainment of benefit (*dar'u al-mafāsīd muqaddam 'alā jalb al-maṣāliḥ*) (Syauqi and Ishak 2023). Therefore, *greun* should be understood as a dynamic and evaluative customary mechanism, whose legitimacy depends on its ability to maintain benefit without exceeding its normative boundaries.

**Table 1.** Analysis of the *Greun* System in Lamaholot Customary Law

Aspect of Analysis	<i>Greun</i> System Description	Implication in Islamic Law
<b>Normative Basis</b>	<i>Greun</i> has no explicit basis in the Qur'an or Hadith and originates from Lamaholot customary norms	It cannot function as a source of halal-haram determination
<b>Legal Position</b>	<i>Greun</i> operates as <i>'urf</i> at the level of social legitimacy rather than legal-theological authority	The validity of marriage remains determined by sharia requirements
<b>Primary Function</b>	Functions as a kinship-regulating and conflict-preventive mechanism within the customary system	Supports social order but does not define legal validity

<b>Type of Maslahah</b>	Classified as <i>maṣlaḥah ḥājīyyāt</i> due to its role in maintaining social stability	Its absence does not invalidate marriage but may cause social tension
<b>Sanction Mechanism</b>	Sanctions are social and customary, not religious or theological	Violations do not result in sin, only social consequences
<b>Limitations of Custom</b>	Must conform to ' <i>urf ṣaḥīḥ</i> ' and not contradict <i>qaṭ'ī</i> legal sources	Requires re-evaluation if it produces injustice or harm
<b>Scope of Authority</b>	Authority is limited to regulating social relations within customary boundaries	Cannot override individual rights recognized in Islamic law
<b>Preventive Function</b>	Operates as a mechanism to prevent social conflict ( <i>dar'u al-mafāsīd</i> )	Legitimate as long as it does not restrict greater benefit

The table above synthesizes the main findings, demonstrating that *greun* operates within the domain of social benefit as a form of '*urf*', while remaining normatively subordinate to Islamic law.

## Discussion

The findings of this study confirm that the *greun* system, known as *lika telo*, constitutes a socially authoritative mechanism within the Lamaholot customary marriage system, particularly in Leworaja Village where it remains strongly practiced (Hamado 2025). However, rather than merely restating its existence, the significance of this finding lies in its implication for understanding the relationship between custom and Islamic law. The empirical evidence shows that *greun* functions as a primary reference in determining marital eligibility, often preceding administrative and even religious considerations. This indicates that, at the practical level, customary norms can acquire a form of social authority that competes with or even overshadows religious norms (Praditha 2023). While previous studies have emphasized the sociological role of customary marriage in maintaining social order (Hamado 2025), this study advances the discussion by demonstrating that such authority must be critically examined within the framework of Islamic legal theory. In this sense, *greun* is not only a cultural institution but also a normative structure that raises fundamental questions about the boundary between social legitimacy and religious validity.

The role of *greun* in maintaining social harmony and preventing conflict, as highlighted in previous research (Zohiro et al. 2024), is confirmed by the findings of this study. However, this study goes further by showing that its conflict-preventive function does not automatically justify its elevation to the level of legal normativity. While *greun* effectively regulates kinship boundaries and ensures collective acceptance of marriage, its authority remains confined to the social domain. This distinction is critical because it challenges the implicit assumption found in some sociological studies that social functionality alone is sufficient to legitimize a practice normatively. By contrast, this study argues that the legitimacy of *greun* must be evaluated not only in terms of its social function but also in relation to its position within Islamic legal principles. Therefore, the contribution of this study lies in reframing *greun* not simply as a tool of social cohesion, but as a customary mechanism whose authority is both functional and limited.

From a theoretical perspective, the findings provide a concrete application of *maṣlahah mursalah* as an evaluative framework for customary practices. Rather than treating *maṣlahah* as a purely abstract concept, this study demonstrates how it can be used to distinguish between different levels of normative authority in social reality. The classification of *greun* within the category of *maṣlahah ḥājiyyāt* confirms that its role is to maintain social order and remove hardship, without being essential to the validity of Islamic law (Mubarrak et al. 2025). This distinction is crucial because it prevents the overextension of custom into the domain of *ḍarūriyyāt*, where legal obligations are determined. In addition, the conditions of *maṣlahah mursalah*—such as its consistency with *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* and its non-contradiction with *qaṭ'ī* sources—provide a methodological boundary that ensures custom remains subordinate to sharia (Alwi, Aqbar, and Nurdin 2025). Thus, this study contributes to moving the discussion of *maṣlahah* from a descriptive exposition toward a critical analytical tool for assessing the limits of customary authority.

The findings also reinforce and refine the application of the principle *al-'ādah muḥakkamah* within the context of Islamic family law. While previous studies have emphasized that custom can serve as a basis for legal consideration (Desmuliati et al. 2025), this study demonstrates that such recognition is conditional rather than absolute. The scholars distinguish between '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*', which is a custom that is in line with the principles of the *Shari'a*, and '*urf fāsid*', which is a custom that is contrary to *nash* or contains harm. Customs that include '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' can be considered in the determination of law through the approach of *maṣlahah mursalah*, especially in matters of *mu'āmalāt* and social society (Winarno 2020). The distinction between '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' and '*urf fāsid*' becomes particularly

relevant in evaluating practices such as *greun*, which may be socially beneficial but potentially problematic if treated as binding legal norms. By situating *greun* within the category of *'urf ṣaḥīḥ*, this study confirms its acceptability as long as it does not contradict Islamic legal principles. However, it also emphasizes that this acceptability is contingent upon its function and impact. This nuance is important because it prevents the sacralization of custom and ensures that its role remains within the framework of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. In this way, the study advances the theoretical understanding of *'urf* by demonstrating its dynamic and evaluative character.

Another important implication of this study lies in its application of the principle *dar'u al-mafāsid muqaddam 'alā jalb al-maṣāliḥ*, which prioritizes the prevention of harm over the attainment of benefit (Syauqi and Ishak 2023). The findings show that *greun* operates as a preventive mechanism aimed at avoiding social conflict, which aligns with this principle. However, the study also highlights that such preventive function must be critically assessed to ensure that it does not produce greater harm, such as restricting individual rights recognized in Islamic law. This aligns with the broader framework of *maṣlahah mursalah*, which requires that benefits be real, general, and consistent with the objectives of sharia (Ys and Fu'ad 2025). Therefore, the application of this principle in the context of *greun* demonstrates that Islamic legal theory does not merely justify existing practices, but also provides evaluative criteria to assess their legitimacy. This reinforces the idea that custom must remain open to critique and adjustment.

Beyond its theoretical contribution, this study also has practical implications for contemporary Muslim societies. First, in the context of local marriage practices, the findings suggest the need to reposition *greun* as a social guideline rather than a determinant of legal validity. This is essential to prevent situations where individuals are socially excluded despite fulfilling the requirements of Islamic marriage law. Second, for religious authorities, the study underscores the importance of maintaining a clear distinction between custom and sharia in order to avoid the over-sacralization of custom. Third, in the field of Islamic legal education, the findings highlight the need to integrate empirical studies of local customs into the teaching of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, so that students can better understand how legal theory operates in real social contexts. Finally, this study opens opportunities for further research, particularly comparative studies of customary marriage systems and their interaction with both Islamic law and state law in different regions.

Overall, this study demonstrates that the relationship between custom and sharia is best understood as complementary but bounded. *Greun* plays an

important role in maintaining social order and cohesion, but its authority remains limited to the domain of social regulation. Islamic law, on the other hand, retains its position as the ultimate determinant of legal validity in marriage. The use of *maṣlaḥah mursalah* as an analytical framework allows this relationship to be understood in a balanced way, recognizing the value of custom without compromising the normative authority of sharia. In this sense, the case of *greun* provides a concrete example of how Islamic legal theory can engage with local traditions in a way that is both critical and constructive.

## Conclusion

This study set out to answer three central questions concerning the function, legitimacy, and limits of the *greun* system within Lamaholot customary marriage. First, the findings demonstrate that *greun* functions as a kinship-based classificatory mechanism that regulates marital eligibility and preserves social order. Its authority operates at the social-collective level, where it structures relationships, prevents conflict, and maintains communal harmony. However, this authority remains sociological rather than juridical.

Second, through the framework of *maṣlaḥah mursalah*, this study establishes that *greun* can be recognized as a form of *‘urf ṣaḥīḥ* whose legitimacy is grounded in its contribution to *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah*, particularly the protection of lineage (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*) and social honor. Its classification as *maṣlaḥah ḥājiyyāt* confirms that it serves to facilitate social benefit without constituting a necessary condition for the validity of marriage. Thus, *greun* is normatively valid as a social instrument, but not as a determinant of *ḥalāl–ḥarām* or legal validity in Islamic law. Third, this study clarifies that the authority of *greun* is strictly limited. As a customary norm, it remains subordinate to Islamic legal principles and must not contradict *qat’ī* sources or restrict individual rights recognized by sharia. When treated as an absolute rule, *greun* risks normative overextension and requires critical re-evaluation within the framework of *maṣlaḥah*. This confirms that the boundary between custom and sharia is not only functional but also epistemological.

The primary novelty of this article lies in its systematic integration of empirical customary practice with the methodological framework of *maṣlaḥah mursalah*. Unlike previous studies that are either sociological or purely theoretical, this research provides a concrete model for evaluating local adat within *uṣūl al-fiqh*, demonstrating how different layers of normativity – social benefit and legal validity – can be analytically distinguished. This contributes to refining the application of *‘urf and maṣlaḥah* as evaluative, not merely descriptive, concepts in Islamic legal studies. Scholarly significance of this study lies in reinforcing a

bounded and proportional relationship between custom and sharia, where custom is acknowledged for its social function but prevented from acquiring unwarranted legal authority. Practically, the findings suggest the need to reposition *greun* as a guiding social norm rather than a binding legal determinant, particularly to avoid social exclusion in cases where marriages are valid under Islamic law.

This study is limited by its geographical focus on Leworaja Village and the restricted number of informants, which may not fully capture variations across the broader Lamaholot community. Future research should therefore pursue comparative studies across regions, examine the interaction between custom, Islamic law, and state law, and explore how changing socio-religious dynamics affect the authority of customary systems. Further inquiry is also needed to develop a more operational framework for assessing *'urf* within contemporary *fiqh*, particularly in plural legal contexts.

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