

S.N. TREGUBOV – AN OUTSTANDING RUSSIAN-SERBIAN CRIMINALIST

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Introduction

Criminal investigation/criminalistics² is not only just a “pure” criminalistic knowledge and the process of obtaining it, but it is also a huge number of various criminalistic institutions and people (criminalists). There is always a particular person, who has created every major achievement for the development of criminalistics. The criminalists’ life-path information allows us to better understand and evaluate criminalists’ contribution to the development of the science in question.

Russia and Serbia share the field of inquiry originating from their rich criminalistics legacy. A special place in this “field” is occupied by the work of S.N. Tregubov, who was born in Russia, worked in the Russian justice authorities and emigrated to Serbia. After his emigration in 1920 he continued his research in criminalistics up to the end of 1944.

S.N. Tregubov made a significant impact on the development of criminalistics of the twentieth century both in Russia and Serbia. His outstanding contribution to the development of criminalistics science, education and its real practice has become a property of the two countries. S.N. Tregubov’s contribution has not lost its significance. Unfortunately, there is still lack of knowledge about S.N. Tregubov’s scientific achievements both in modern Russia and in Serbia. His extensive criminalistics heritage remains understudied.

The Special Aspects of Russian Criminalistic Historiography About S.N. Tregubov

The conducted analysis of the historiography of Russian criminalistics allows us to conclude that the impact of S.N. Tregubov on the development of criminalistic scientific thought in Russia “suffers” from significant incompleteness and fragmentation.

Russian professor V.I. Kolomatsky rightly noted that many Russian criminalists preferred to keep quiet about S.N. Tregubov (Kolomatsky, 2007: 126).

One of the reasons for this condition was the fact that S.N. Tregubov was an active opponent of the Soviet regime, serving in the White Army (1918-1920), and after emigrating to Belgrade in 1920, participating in the activities of some white-emigrant organizations, which were aimed at overthrowing the Soviet power. In particular, S.N. Tregubov was a member of the Union of United Officers’ Societies, the ROVS, and he was a permanent head of the Society of Military Lawyers in Serbia for more than twenty-two years (1922-1945), against which the Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence agencies

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² We use terms “criminal investigation” and “criminalistics” synonymously for the science of criminal investigation (as in the German use of the term ‘Kriminalistik’ or in the Russian use of the term ‘Kriminalistika’. We support D. Maver’s position (for details refer - D. Maver, 2009).



were fighting. Thus, in his “Appeal to Russian Judiciary” S.N. Tregubov made a call for “the desired liberation of Russia from Bolshevik slavery and deprivation of human rights” (Tregubov, 1929: 2).

S.N. Tregubov had been mentioned in the criminalistic literature of the USSR up to the 1930s, i.e. before the period of mass repressions in the country. Thus, in the “Weekly of Soviet Justice” № 44 issued on November 10, (1923), there was information about the sale of S.N. Tregubov’s book “Fundamentals of Criminal Technique” (1915) for 1 ruble 50 kopecks. Separate brief references to S.N. Tregubov were available in a number of manuals and guides for practitioners (criminal investigators) (for example, Tepin, 1926: 198; Tepin, 1928; Gromov, 1932 etc.).

However, in the subsequent years the references to S. N. Tregubov almost completely disappeared from the Soviet criminalistic literature. Thus, in the First Soviet textbook on criminalistics (1935) we did not find references to S.N. Tregubov (Criminalistics, 1935).

For the Soviet authorities S. N. Tregubov was a “class enemy”, so it was forbidden to point at his criminalistics merits, especially during the years of Stalin repressions (Sokol, 2017).

In 1948, A. I. Vinberg wrote an article “On the History of Criminalistic Institutions” (Vinberg, 1948). In this work, the author proposed to render the history of criminalistic institutions from a “class position approach”, without “harmful academic objectivism”, with irreconcilable criticism and exposure of detrimental effect of bourgeois criminalistic science (Vinberg, 1948: 77-78). Considering the history of criminalistic examination in pre-revolutionary Russia, A. I. Vinberg mentioned S. N. Tregubov only once in connection with the latter’s participation in the engrossment for establishing the first Russian “Cabinet” of Scientific Criminalistic Examination in St. Petersburg (Vinberg, 1948: 77-78).

From 1960s, some Soviet criminal investigators began mentioning S. N. Tregubov more frequently in their papers. However, the information was usually brief, incomplete and limited to indicate the period of S. N. Tregubov’s activity before 1917 (R. S. Belkin, A. I. Vinberg, I.A. Vozgrin, I. F. Krylov, N. P. Yablokov, etc.).

In 1982, R. S. Belkin and A. I. Vinberg published their work “The History of Soviet Criminalistics. The Emergence and Formation of the Science (1917-1930s)”, in which they avoided analyzing and comprehensively evaluating the work of S. N. Tregubov in criminalistics, as well as his impact on the genesis of criminalistics in Russia. R. S. Belkin and A. I. Vinberg inconsistently regarded Tregubov’s work as low-level. They considered S. N. Tregubov a “Russian popularizer” of the ideas of G. Gross, and also noted that the works of S. N. Tregubov (1912, 1915) bore the influence of the works of Gross, Bertillon, Niceforo, Reiss and other Western European criminal investigators, and in some papers were just simple paraphrases of their concepts and recommendations (Belkin & Vinberg, 1982: 12). At the same time, A. I. Vinberg and R. S. Belkin admitted that S. N. Tregubov’s book “Fundamentals of Criminal Technique” (1915) was the first Russian practical guide for criminal investigators (Belkin & Vinberg, 1982: 12).

It can be stated that the works of Soviet criminalists were dependent on politicized (class) assessments of S. N. Tregubov’s criminalistics work or they simply ignored his existence.

The ideologization of historical and criminalistic research in the Soviet period had a negative impact on the results of the criminalistics history study, characterized by a generally negative attitude to both “bourgeois” criminalistics and pre-revolutionary Russian criminalistics (Sokol, 2021). It was precisely at this period of time that “concepts” like “Soviet criminalistics” and “socialist criminalistics” (Titova & Sokol, 2022) were developed and proclaimed to be the only scientific, only right and standard (for example, Stelzer, 1978: 10).



After 1991, criminalistics in Russia ceased being referred to as “Soviet” or “socialist”.

However, the former ideological assessments of the “bourgeois” and “pre-revolutionary” Russian criminalistics are still occasionally presented in modern criminalistic narrative (Sokol, 2021). Soviet ideological clichés are still applicable although slightly transformed. At present pre-revolutionary criminalistic literature as well as the criminalistic heritage of Russian emigrants has been studied fragmentarily.

While in his introduction to “Encyclopedia of Criminalistics” (2000) R. S. Belkin regarded S.N. Tregubov as one of pioneers of the nascent Russian criminalistic science (Belkin, 2000: 6), there was no biographical section on S. N. Tregubov in the encyclopedia.

This encyclopedia contained only a brief mention of S. N. Tregubov’s practical guide for the judiciary called “Fundamentals of Criminal Technique. Scientific and Technical Methods of Crime Investigation” (1915). In his book by S. N. Tregubov (as compared to the edition of 1912) there are four additional sections: investigation of railroad derailments; application of ultraviolet rays; identification of the criminal; methods of material evidence keeping and delivering it to examination site. However, R. S. Belkin unreasonably questions S. N. Tregubov’s authorship (Belkin, 2000: 299).

Unfortunately, previous assessments of S. N. Tregubov’s work are still occasionally estimated as dictated by an ideological bias which misrepresents his real contribution to the development history of Russian and Serbian criminalistics.

In recent years, more and more Russian criminalists tend to mention information about S.N. Tregubov in their criminalistic works (A. I. Bastrykin, S. A. Velichkin, N. A. Kornienko, A.A. Koisin, Sh. N. Khaziev, A. A. Exarkhopulo, etc.).

A considerable work was carried out by the staff of the Department of Criminalistics at the Military Law Faculty of the Ministry of Defense of Russia (A. Y. Vinokurov, V. G. Kolomatsky, S. V. Malikov, etc.) in 2005-2011. They researched the archives of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Empire and the Alexander’s Military Law Academy, which made it possible to obtain previously unknown information about Tregubov’s life and career in criminalistics in Russia. The employees of the above mentioned Department of Criminalistics organized and held a scientific conference “The First Inter-university Tregubov Reading” (2007) followed up by the issue of collected scientific papers.

In 2011, the International Criminalistic Conference, dedicated to the 100th anniversary of teaching criminalistic science in higher educational institutions of Russia, was held. It was noted that the beginning of teaching criminalistics in the Russian Empire is inextricably linked with the name of S. N. Tregubov (Criminalistics: 100 years of teaching in higher educational institutions of Russia, 2011).

At the same time, modern Russian criminalistic publications often contain incorrect and contradictory information about S. N. Tregubov. Thus, in one of the textbooks on criminalistics (2014) S. N. Tregubov was correctly referred to as one of “prominent scientists of criminalistics”, but this textbook (Criminalistics, 2014: 35) incorrectly indicates the years of his life and places a photograph of another person (not S. N. Tregubov).

In 2019 professor N. P. Yablokov recognized S. N. Tregubov’s work “Fundamentals of Criminal Technique” (1915) as “a serious work on criminalistics” and also pointed out that this work was of great importance for the development of criminalistic knowledge in Russia (Criminalistics, 2019: 154, 180). At the same time, N. P. Yablokov argued that the history of the emergence of Russian criminalistics began only after the October Revolution, i.e. after 1917 (Criminalistics, 2019: 154). The paradoxical



nature of such conclusion is obvious: the existence of criminalistic works of pre-revolutionary Russian criminalists, S. N. Tregubov in particular, is recognized, but the existence of criminalistics in the country of that period is denied. It turns out that the existence of textbooks on criminalistics is not considered as evidence of the existence of criminalistics in pre-revolutionary Russia. The foregoing confirms the presence of old “class” (ideologized) estimates of the matter in modern Russian literature on criminalistics.

Unfortunately, studies of S. N. Tregubov’s criminalistics heritage have almost practically ceased in Russia. For various reasons, it was not possible to execute the plans of Russian criminalists to study the criminalistics works of S. N. Tregubov in Serbia.

The analysis of historiographical literature, as well as various historical documents, allows us to determine the main stages of S. N. Tregubov’s life-path and his merits in pre-Soviet Russia.

The Main Criminalistic Merits of S. N. Tregubov in Pre-Revolutionary Russia (Before his Emigration to Serbia)

Sergey Nikolayevich Tregubov was born in St. Petersburg on October 24, 1866, in the family of a Russian army general.

S. N. Tregubov studied at a “closed” privileged (elite) educational institution - the Imperial School of Law, which was founded in 1835 by Tsar Nicholas I. Only boys (males) from the nobility were admitted to study at the school. The School of Jurisprudence trained legal personnel for the judicial system (for the Ministry of Justice) in seven year-period of studying.

S. N. Tregubov finished his studies in 1888 at the age of 21 with a “silver medal” and he was attached as a trainee to the judicial investigator in the St. Petersburg District Court. In his further service S. N. Tregubov took various judicial positions in the Ministry of Justice as well. Thus, S. N. Tregubov had a great practical experience of investigative and judicial activity in the types of criminal cases.

In the 1910-1913 period, S. N. Tregubov was on official trips to Berlin, Dresden, Lausanne, Paris, Rome and other European cities, where he studied European criminal investigation procedures. In 1910 S. N. Tregubov met Professor R.-A. Reiss in Lausanne, with whom he maintained close relations for years.

In 1911, a group of Russian judicial officers, headed by S. N. Tregubov, visited the R.-A. Reiss Institute of Scientific Police. In two months and a half R.-A. Reiss got this group familiarized with the program of a full course-study on “scientific police (*police scientifique*)”. Prof. Reiss delivered lectures (40 in all) in French every day (except Saturdays) from 9:30 to 11:30 a.m. (Tregubov, 1913: 240). During the rest of the day, including Saturdays, the trainees had an access to the laboratory, where the laboratory assistant François Gauthier gave them the necessary explanations and assisted the trainees in practical (experimental) exercises (Tregubov, 1913: 241). After the completion of the training program, Professor Reiss took his Russian students to Paris, where they got acquainted with various areas of the Paris police service and visited Bertillon’s office, his laboratories, museum, archive and photographic department (Tregubov, 1913: 242).

On his return from the trip S. N. Tregubov reported the results in the building of the St. Petersburg District Court to official employees of the judicial department, as well as in the Alexander’s Military Law Academy and the Imperial School of Jurisprudence (Tregubov, 1913: 243).



Since autumn of 1911, S. N. Tregubov, started teaching criminalistics as a subject named “criminal investigation technique” as a teacher at the Imperial School of Jurisprudence and professor of criminal law at the Alexander Military Law Academy, for the first time in Russia. During the existence of the Alexander’s Military Law Academy, officers of the Serbian army were also taught there.

In the winter of 1911, S. N. Tregubov established the “Judicial-technical cabinet” (Forensic-technical room), first of its kind in Russia, at the Imperial School of Law, where practical classes in criminal technique were held for senior students (Tregubov, 1913: 243). In August 1912, a similar cabinet (room) was established at the Alexander’s Military Law Academy, and in the autumn of 1912 practical classes were organized there (Tregubov, 1913: 243; Malikov, 2012).

In 1912 the content of the lecture-course by R.-A. Reiss was published by S. N. Tregubov in Russia with the title “Scientific Technique of Crime Investigation” (Reiss, 1912). The book aroused great interest among the Russian public, first of all among criminalists-practitioners.

In May 1912, R.-A. Reiss came to Russia and delivered a lecture course on “scientific police (scientific technique of crime investigation)” at the Alexander’s Military Law Academy and the Imperial School of Jurisprudence.

On May 22, 1912, R.-A. Reiss visited the places of imprisonment for criminals in St. Petersburg. He was accompanied by S. N. Tregubov. R.-A. Reiss tasted the prisoners’ food, including black bread and kvass. In the book for honorary visitors of the St. Petersburg House of Preliminary Detention, Professor Reiss wrote: “Fascinated by my first visit to a Russian prison” (Prison Gazette, 1912, 6-7).

S. N. Tregubov did not limit himself to popularization of scientific knowledge on criminalistics in Russia, and took an active part in the creation of government expert criminalistic institutions. Such institutions had as their purpose to produce all technical expertise, except for medico-legal (medico-forensic) and chemical, which were under the jurisdiction of medical departments of provincial boards’ authority (Tregubov, 1932c: 881-882).

In 1912, S. N. Tregubov prepared a draft law on the organization of the first Cabinet of Scientific and Forensic Examination in Russia in St. Petersburg. Then, as a representative of the Ministry of Justice, S. N. Tregubov attended the meeting of the Commission on Judicial Reforms of the State Duma on 23.02.1912 (Report on the bill on the establishment of the Cabinet of Scientific and Forensic Expertise, 1913). Approved by the State Council and the State Duma, the Law on the establishment of the office of scientific and criminalistics expertise was approved by the Russian Emperor on 28.06.1912.

A sum of 10,000 rubles was allocated for the initial furnishing of the “cabinet”, which allowed to equip it with the most modern technical means purchased in European countries. According to S. N. Tregubov, the Cabinet had the best forensic technical laboratory in Europe. This Cabinet was exemplary and was up to the level of a genuine scientific institution (Tregubov, 1913; Tregubov, 1932c: 881).

The grand opening of the cabinet of scientific forensic expertise took place on December 9, 1912 in the presence of the Minister of Justice - I. G. Scheglovitov and direct participation of S. N. Tregubov. The Minister of Justice in his speech proposed a toast to S. N. Tregubov, because he initiated the idea of establishing such a “Cabinet” and worked on its arrangement (Tregubov, 1913: 252).

On the occasion of the opening of the Cabinet of scientific forensic expertise in St. Petersburg, A. Anđonović, the assistant to the head of the Belgrade Anthropometric Department, sent a congratulatory telegram (Tregubov, 1913: 257).



Ottolenghi (Rome), Minovici (Bucharest), G. Gross (Graz), Bertillon (Paris), Reiss (Lausanne) and many others were among those who sent telegrams and letters wishing success to this Russian Criminalistic institution.

On July 4, 1913, the State Council and the State Duma of the Russian Empire approved the Law on establishing Cabinets of Scientific and Forensic examination in Moscow, Kiev and Odessa.

Instructions regulating activities of the Cabinet employees, as well as the formalization of the process and results of expert examinations were prepared. Advanced (expert) examination was to be conducted consistently and described in a special act in detail.

In 1915, S. N. Tregubov published a work substantially revised and supplemented with new sections under the title “Fundamentals of Criminal Technique. Scientific and Technical Methods of Crime Investigation: A Practical Guide for Judicial Officers” (Tregubov, 1915). This manual is recognized as the first national textbook on criminalistics. As the result of scientific systematization of scientific knowledge accumulated, this manual introduced a wide range of criminalistic means, techniques and recommendations for the investigation of crime to its readers. The available reviews testify to its positive evaluation by contemporaries.

On July 1-9, 1916, the I Congress of experts-criminalists was held in Petrograd. It was headed by Professor S. N. Tregubov. At this congress, the reports about modern criminalistic methods of investigation and evidence were delivered. In addition, the congress summarized the results of the work of Cabinets of Scientific Criminalistic Examination as well as their practice of applying the scientific criminalistics knowledge.

These are the main, but far from complete, results of S. N. Tregubov’s criminalistic activities in pre-revolutionary Russia, which have been reconstructed by now.

The First World War, the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia, and then the October (Socialist) Revolution and the Civil War radically changed the life-path of S. N. Tregubov, as well as that of millions of his compatriots.

Special Aspects of Serbian Criminalistic Historiography of S. N. Tregubov

The attitude to S. N. Tregubov and his criminalistic activities did not remain unchanged in Serbia, and significantly varied depending on the features of the foreign and domestic policy of the Serbian state, which was influenced by both global events (World War I, the October Revolution, the collapse of four empires, the creation of the USSR, the Second World War, the creation of the SFRY, the collapse of the socialist camp, the disappearance of the USSR and the SFRY, etc.), as well as historical circumstances even of a smaller, local scale.

The most productive stage of the criminalistic activity of S. N. Tregubov in Serbia was the period from 1923 to 1941, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

S. N. Tregubov and his family arrived in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the end of 1920, settled in Belgrade, where he got a job at the office of a Russian military agent in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. At the same time S. N. Tregubov took active part in the foundation of a number of White Guard emigrant organizations.



In Belgrade S. N. Tregubov often met with his old acquaintance (since 1910), one of the founders of Western European criminalistics, Professor R.-A. Reiss (1876-1928), who permanently resided in Belgrade after the end of the First World War.

The centralized funding of the Union of United Officers' Societies ceased in 1923, so S. N. Tregubov found himself in a difficult financial position and was forced to look for a job for livelihood. S. N. Tregubov got a job in the Technical Police Department in Belgrade in 1923 (Tregubov, 1932c: 884).

According to S. N. Tregubov, he found very modest equipment in this department, consisting of reproduction and magnifying photographic apparatus, two microscopes with damaged optics, and several broken hand-held photographic apparatuses. It took a lot of work to produce serious, evidence-based researches at this department and to stand in line with similar institutions in major European centers (Tregubov, 1932c: 884).

S. N. Tregubov became a contract professor at the Institute of Criminalistics at the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade in 1929 (New member staff of the Faculty of Law, 1929: 154). He combined the activities at the Faculty of Law with the work in Technical Police.

In 1930 S. N. Tregubov published a small 50-page textbook on criminal technique, which was based on his lectures delivered to students at the Institute of Criminalistics since 1929 (Tregubov, 1930a). In a short note from the "Archives of Legal and Social Sciences" (1930: 404) it was reported that "Criminal Technique" was published by Professor Sergei Tregubov at the Criminalistics Institute of the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade.

Along with that, S. N. Tregubov published a number of articles in Russian. The article "Forensic Expertise of Documents (its current standing)" was published in 1930 (Tregubov, 1930b). It is noteworthy that in this article S. N. Tregubov considers criminal technique as a special branch of criminology. According to S. N. Tregubov, the subject of criminal technique is the study and application of scientific and technical research methods to investigation of crimes (Tregubov, 1930b: 507-508). The doctrine of the techniques and methods of forensic examination of documents is a wide and diverse range of photographic, photometric, chemical, graphic, graphometric, microscopic and other technical methods for studying written acts of private circulation of government documents, banknotes, securities, seals, coin dies and stamps. Their authenticity is disputed or in doubt and subject, for the purposes of justice, to scientific and judicial verification, as well as the study of research areas related to the handwriting of anonymous letters, the decipherment of all kinds of ciphers, the manifestation of blackened text or written in sympathetic (invisible) ink, and in general the reconstruction of written acts and all kinds documents (Tregubov, 1930b: 507).

In 1932 S. N. Tregubov published an article entitled "Forensic technical expertise (historical background)" (Tregubov, 1932a; Tregubov, 1932b; Tregubov, 1932c).

In 1935 S. N. Tregubov together with the head of the technical police of Serbia A. Andonović, published the first textbook on criminal technique (criminalistics) in the Serbian language (Tregubov & Andonović, 1935).

S. N. Tregubov was one of G. Bauer's advisers. G. Bauer was a laboratory assistant at the Institute of Criminalistics and defended his dissertation on the topic "Examination of written documents: material for compiling written documents and chemical examination of household ink" in 1940 (Knežević-Lukić, 2019: 247).



Until 1941 there was mostly positive assessment of S. N. Tregubov by his contemporaries. So, in the preface of the book “Criminal technique” (1935), T. Zhivanovich wrote about the value of S. N. Tregubov as a criminal-technical expert, scientist and lecturer (Tregubov & Andonović, 1935: V). According to T. Zhivanovich, S. N. Tregubov was a prominent scientist who had pedagogical abilities and taught criminal technique to students of the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade for five years successfully (Tregubov & Andonović, 1935: V). Students attend his lectures with pleasure.

T. Zhivanovich noted that in their work S. N. Tregubov and A. Andonović mixed rich theoretical knowledge and scientific methods, which were used in various and complex studies of their personal practice (Tregubov & Andonović, 1935: V).

B. Brazol, in his review of the book “Criminal technique” (1935), noted that S. N. Tregubov was a highly trained practitioner who had studied the methods of criminal investigation by Bertillon and Reiss, and was then one of the distinguished successors of the Hans Gross’s school (Brazol, 1936: 799). B. Brazol described the book “Criminal technique” (1935) as a “splendid treatise” (Brazol, 1936: 802).

In 1935 H. Bauer also wrote that “Criminal technique” (1935) by S. N. Tregubov and A. Andonovich enriched the very meager criminal literature with one carefully worked out paper, which should be attributed to the best achievements of the national non-legal criminal investigation science (Bauer, 1935: 315).

In 1935 S. N. Tregubov together with his colleague Professor N.V. Krajinsky recognized the Institute of Criminalistics of the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade as a modern, scientific and skillfully organized institution (Janković, 2015: 333).

In September 1944 the Soviet troops entered the territory of Yugoslavia. S. N. Tregubov left Belgrade and moved to Germany. S. N. Tregubov had a well-founded fear of reprisal from the state security agencies of the USSR.

However, S. N. Tregubov refused to leave for the West when the Red Army approached Berlin because of his advancing age. In the spring of 1945, after the liberation of Germany, 79-year-old S. N. Tregubov was taken to the NKVD three times, but no further actions were taken.

S. N. Tregubov passed away on July 29, 1945 in Birkenwerder, Germany (25 km away from Berlin). After his death the NKVD (The People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs) again came to his widow with a proposal to give her husband’s medals and orders in order to hand them over to the state museum (Novoye russkoye slovo, 1974, October 19).

The People’s Liberation War in Yugoslavia (1941-1945) ended with the abolition of the monarchy in the country, the establishment of a pro-Soviet socialist regime.

Despite the complexity of the relationship between the SFRY and the USSR, the Soviet influences on all spheres of life in Yugoslavia were clearly noted and they did not completely disappear until the end of Yugoslavia’s existence (Miloradović, 2012: 15-16). In January 1945 the Society for Cultural Cooperation between Yugoslavia and the USSR was founded. The ruling party in Yugoslavia was organized according to the Soviet model and implemented the Soviet model of building socialism (1945-1950). The first Constitution of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (1946) was also modeled after the 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union (Dabetić, 2020: 166). The Yugoslav secret agencies were under strong Soviet influence. In particular, the Department for People’s Protection (OZNA) was involved in the search for “enemies of the people” since May 1944 (Dimitrijević, 2019).



The influence of the USSR extended to the field of Yugoslav science, including criminalistics. In 1947 a Soviet textbook on criminalistics by B. M. Shaver and A. I. Vinberg was published in Belgrade (Šaver & Vinberg¹⁹⁴⁷).

Before World War II criminalistics in Serbia was developed mainly as a practical science. Later, because of the influence of Soviet criminalistics Serbian criminalistics adopted research in the field of general theory and methodology of criminalistics. Soviet ideas about the reactionary essence of Russian pre-revolutionary and bourgeois criminalistics, as well as ideas about Russian emigrants as “anti-national elements”, were also spread.

The unfair accusation of collaborationism could not be avoided by S. N. Tregubov (Janković^{2016: 91}).

The Court of Honor established in December 1944 at the University of Belgrade passed the verdict in absentia to expel S. N. Tregubov from the university for his escape to Germany (Mitrović, 2011: 182-183).

I. Janković points out that pre-war Criminalistic Institute had a bad reputation with the communist authorities (Janković, 2015: 343; Janković, 2016: 91).

Obviously, it is no longer possible to expect unbiased evaluation of criminalistics merits of S. N. Tregubov in Serbia in such circumstances.

It is noteworthy that a famous Yugoslav criminalists V. Vodinelić noted that in 1946 there was no criminalistics in Yugoslavia. He distinguished (delimited) criminalistics from criminal technique, which had been brought to Serbia after the First World War by Reiss and Tregubov (Vodinelić, 1994).

M. Šikman also believes that Yugoslav criminalistics was created only after World War II. In his opinion, before this period criminalistics was very poorly developed in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the available literature was even more than scarce (Šikman, 2012). It is obvious that the contribution of Reiss, Tregubov and other pre-war criminalists to the formation of Serbian criminalistics is underestimated.

A significant part of modern criminalists, although briefly, but positively evaluates the activities of S. N. Tregubov in the development of forensic expertise and founding Serbian criminalistics.

So, G. Malich paid attention to the fact that professors S. N. Tregubov and N. Krainsky significantly improved the methods of forensic examination (expertise) through the use of photography (Malić, 2002).

D. Maver rightly notes that most of the criminalistic publications at the stage of formation of criminalistics were written by practitioners. According to Darko Maver, A. Munda, the author of the first Slovenian criminalistics textbook, was inspired by German and Russian authors, among whom was S. N. Tregubov (Maver, 2009: 496).

N. Stanković wrote that S. N. Tregubov, R.-A. Reiss and A. Andonovich are acknowledged experts of their time, who made a significant contribution to the development of criminalistics in Serbia (Stanković, 2016: 34).

S. Vasiljević and I. Krstić-Mistridželović (2022: 32) draw attention to the continuity in the development of criminalistics in Serbia and also refer to the Serbian textbook by S. Tregubov and A. Andonović “Criminal technique” (1935).



Extensive material on the activities of S. N. Tregubov is presented in the doctoral thesis of N. D. Knežević-Lukić, dedicated to “Emergence and development of scientific and technical police in Serbia (1904-1941)” (Knežević-Lukić, 2019: 247). N. D. Knežević-Lukić reasonably recognizes S. N. Tregubov as one of the “pioneers of the scientific and technical police” in Serbia. N. D. Knežević-Lukić also refers to the number of “significant works” in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the lectures of S.N. Tregubov “Criminal technique”, which were published in 1930, and the first Serbian textbook on criminal technique (criminalistics), published by S.N. Tregubov together with A. Andonović in 1935 (Knežević-Lukić, 2019: 271, 288-290).

However, it should be noted that some authors in modern Serbia are making attempts to unreasonably underestimate the criminalistic merits of the pre-war Institute of Criminalistics, including the personal merits of S. N. Tregubov (Janković, 2015; Janković, 2016). For example, I. Janković unreasonably recognizes as a disadvantage that in the textbook of 1935 all examples and results of criminal investigations were taken from foreign literature and practice (Janković, 2015: 335). We should agree with the opinion of I. Janković that the contribution of the Institute of Criminalistics has not yet been comprehensively studied (Janković, 2015: 344).

The foregoing confirms the need for further research related to the critical rethinking of previous assessments of the results and significance of S. N. Tregubov.

Conclusions

Professor S. N. Tregubov, a supporter of A. Reiss's ideas, stood at the origins of criminalistics (criminal technique) in Russia since 1910. He taught at the Alexander Military Law Academy and the Imperial School of Law as well. After his emigration to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1920, S. N. Tregubov worked as a professor of criminal technique at the Criminalistics Institute of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, taught criminal technique to Serbian law enforcement personnel, and took part in international forensic congresses.

The analysis of the historiographic literature in Russia and Serbia allows us to conclude that Russian criminalists know little about S. N. Tregubov's Serbian stage of his life, and Serbian criminalists do not know enough about the Russian period of his life.

Practical Guide to Criminal Technique by S. N. Tregubov (1915) has not been translated into Serbian and his joint work with A. Andonović “Criminal investigation technique” (1935) has not been translated into Russian. Continuity in the content of the Russian (1915) and Serbian (1935) editions of manuals on criminal technique was established.

There is no holistic scientifically based reconstruction of the continuity of the indicated stages of the life and work of S. N. Tregubov, which urgently requires further historical and criminalistic research in Russia and Serbia. The activity of a criminalist, like his whole life, is unique, integral.

The study of the life and criminalistics activity of S. N. Tregubov testifies that he was aware of the most advanced methods, techniques and tools, showed a constant interest in the state of criminalistics in different countries.

Criminalistics is a global science with a rich history, full of scientific achievements, struggle of ideas, confrontation of different approaches, mistakes, misconceptions, as well as their overcoming. World criminalistics manifests itself as a set of national criminalistics.



Criminalistics as a science was originated in Western Europe at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries and was developed in different countries under the influence of both global and national conditions and traditions. As a result, the ideas about the concept, subject, system, content, nature, and even the name of criminalistics (criminal investigation, Kriminalistik, forensic science, police scientifique, polizia scientifica, police sciences, police technique, etc.) were diverse and subject to revision throughout the history of criminalistics up to the present. Currently, there are several relatively independent criminalistic schools (directions, fields), which most often include Austro-German (German), Romanesque, Anglo-Saxon, Soviet (or socialist), etc. criminalistics. In turn, D. Maver conditionally distinguishes Russian, Eastern European, Central European (central) and “Western” criminalistics, which comprises Anglo-American criminalistics.

Different models of criminalistics offered not only different theoretical concepts, but also different perspectives for its further development. Currently, a transition from the isolation of individual criminalistic schools to their dialogue (integration) using the experience of all national criminalistics schools is required.

D. Maver rightly drew attention to the fact that the exchange of information and knowledge about criminalistics is not sufficiently established between European countries. However, this conclusion is valid not only for the states of Europe, but also for the whole world.

There is still no comprehensive study of the history of world criminalistics and the history of European criminalistics. Since many countries within former Yugoslavia and the USSR became independent it has become popular to write history of criminalistics of in each of the countries separately.

The sheer side of “socialist criminalistics” united representatives of the criminalistics of the socialist countries and ensured “local socialist globalization”. In 1962 the First international symposium on criminalists of the socialist countries was held in Berlin (GDR), and the last one (the 17th, XVII) was held in 1989 in Pyongyang (DPRK). However, with the collapse of the “socialist camp” and the collapse of the SFRY and the USSR, the interaction of Russian criminalistic specialists with their colleagues turned into irregular and episodic one based mainly on personal contacts between the scientists.

The lack of international historical and criminalistic studies, including those devoted to the study of the historical features of the relationship between Russian and Serbian criminalistics, hinders the understanding of their current state and the choice of directions for further development.

The problems of conducting such kind of research lie not only in the presence of language barriers, but also in politics. Many of the criminalists of the former socialist countries, under the influence of globalization and other reasons, including opportunistic ones, began to declare the closeness of their criminalistic doctrine with the models of Western European countries (Kurapka & Malevski, 2005: 47). At the same time, national-historical features and traditions are often ignored.

Further study of the criminalistics work of S. N. Tregubov will contribute to the process of self-identification of Russian and Serbian criminalistics, the knowledge of the patterns (laws) and national peculiarities of their formation and development, the establishment of continuity in the development of many scientific ideas as well as to clarification of the nature of relationships with various areas of foreign criminalistics. The results of such studies will provide valuable information not only for an adequate assessment of the current state of criminalistics, but also for possible rethinking of the traditional content of criminalistics and a critical revision of outdated provisions.

In this regard, the course “History of Criminalistics” (Course Code: 15.40) taught at the University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies is noteworthy (<https://eng.kpu.edu.rs/studies/graduate/>



[courses/mas-criminalistics/art-c-15.40.html](#)). It is remarkable that the joint work on criminalistics by S. Tregubov and A. Andonović (1935) is included in the list of recommended literature of the course.

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