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# 皇帝的第一道與最後一道命令

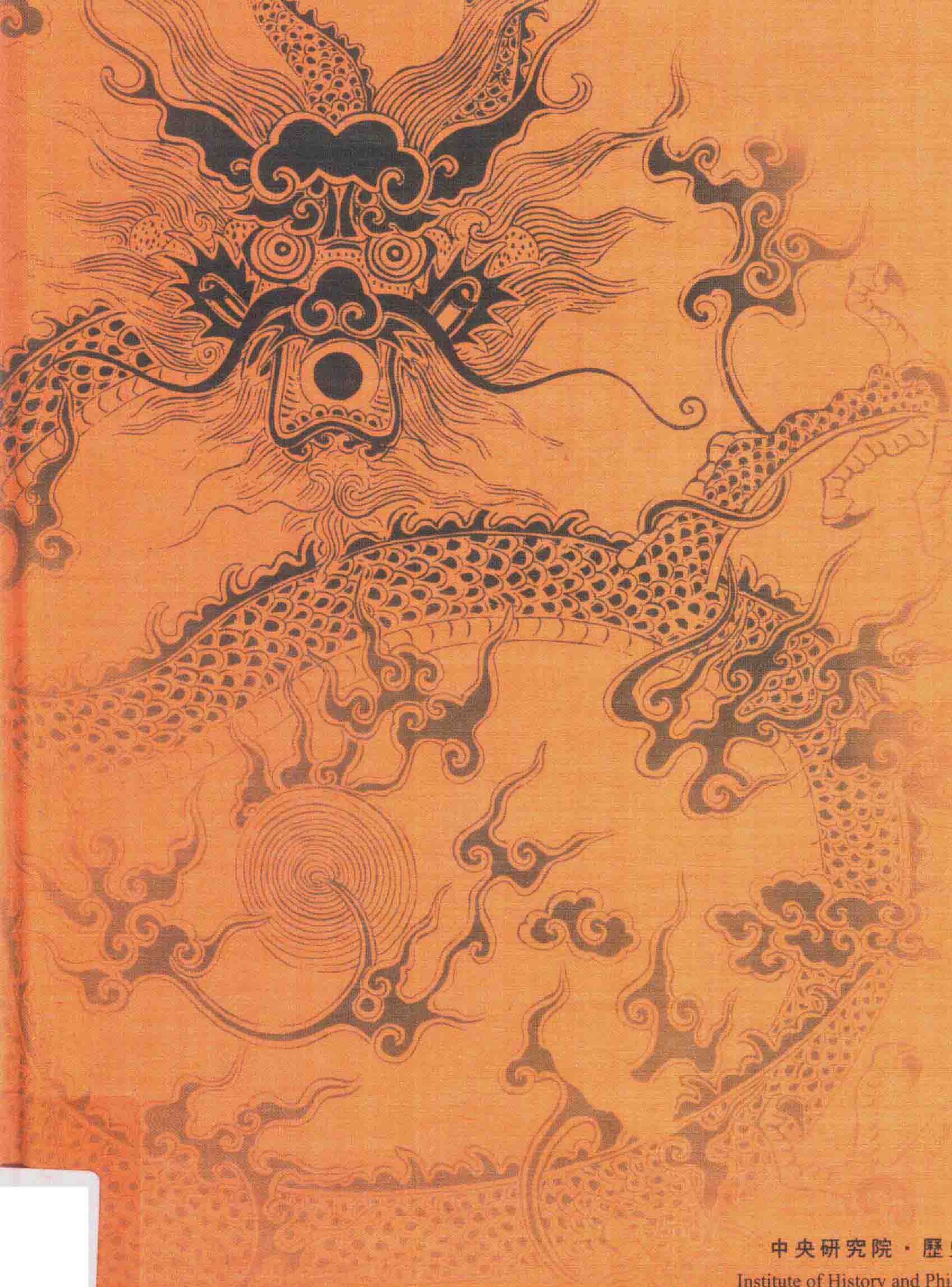
The First and the Last Mandate from the Emperors

陳熙遠 編著

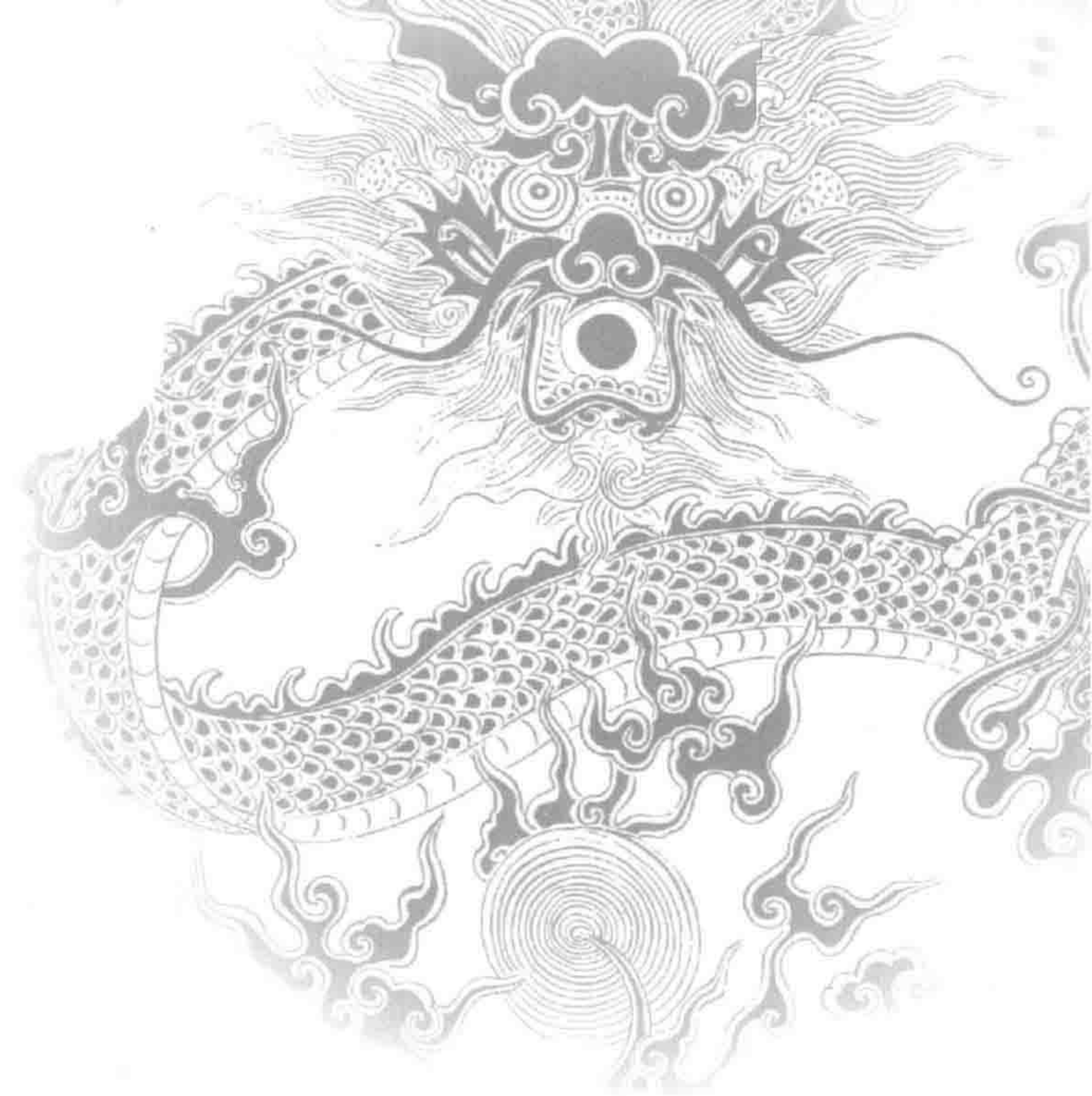


天之寶在宗遠能通休養蒼生共四海之  
致治於太凱風夜夜寂寂宿寐不寤  
旬在位六十一年實賴

天地  
宗社之默佑非朕涼德之所至也歷觀史冊  
年共三百一帝如朕在位之久者  
三十年三十年時不敢造料至四十年







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陳熙遠 編著

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The First and the Last Mandate from the Emperors

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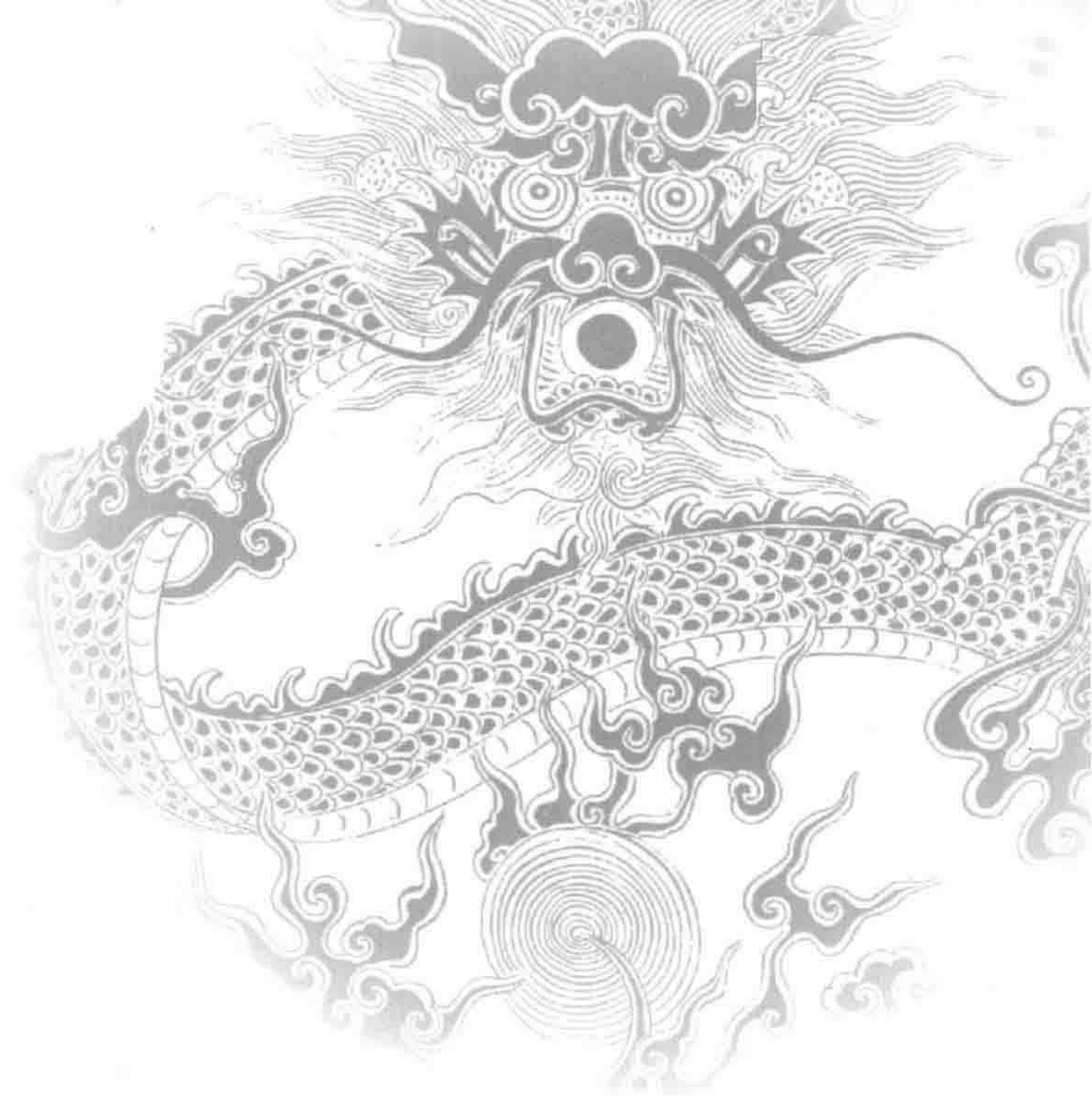


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## 一、序——居九重闈布十行詔

陳熙遠

以皇帝之名頒發的命令，根據其對象與目的，既有不同的形制，各配以不同之璽印。即以清朝為例，皇帝的命令主要有制、誥、勅、詔等四種類型。「制書」是「宣示百官」的政令；「誥書」則用以封贈臣屬功名，意在「昭垂訓行」；「勅書」針對特定的官員下達訓示，以期「申明職守」；至於「詔書」，則是將攸關朝政與國事的重要舉措「布告天下」。舉凡登極、親政、大婚、加徽、尊諡與傳位等國朝大典要事，率皆需以詔書的形式，向天下臣民、中外藩屬布達無遺。

據官方史書所載，出身於基層的漢光武帝即位後關心民瘼，並厲行勤樸儉約之風，經常「以手跡賜方國者，皆一札十行，細書成文」（《後漢書》）。故事裡光武帝親筆對地方封建諸侯下達的命令，性質上似乎較近似上述四種類型中的勅書。不論如何，後代常以「十行」一詞來比喻詔書，宋代蘇軾的詩作裡即有「遙聞爭誦十行詔，無異親巡六尺輿」的名句（《次韻張昌言喜雨》）。清代乾隆皇帝也頗愛以此典入詩，宣示其體恤民情而頒詔的用心，例如乾隆十五年當聞得河南獲嘉等縣秋穫歉收，他隨即雙管齊下：「亟

頒十行詔，更勅一方吏」；一方面以恩詔豁免當地租欠，一方面又行勅書訓示執事官員。其他尚有「究不無勞民，寬賦頒十行」、「底藉十行詔，無時不體仁」、「宣沛十行詔，惟期蘇萬民」等詩句，反覆重言，幾乎淪為陳腔。當然，官方文書的格式發展到後來越趨定制，因應內容多寡亦有不同的尺幅。上述典故裡的「十行」之數早已成為虛詞，而朝廷頒發的詔書也並非「細書成文」。至於大多數垂拱而治的皇帝，更極少學步漢光武帝事必躬親，遑論自行提筆詔告天下。

所謂「九重丹詔下塵埃」，詔書的目的既在布告天下，期許普天之下的藩屬臣民盡皆知曉皇帝的重要宣示，詔書無疑是皇帝各類命令裡最公開、也最為正式的一種。從在京城宣詔到地方的接詔與布告，皆有配套的儀式與運作的程序。作為公開的政治宣示，詔書越是正式，其內容就越可能流於形式。清代歷朝頒布的詔書中，為數不少是關於冊立皇后、加封皇太后徽號、或大行皇帝升祔太廟禮成，大抵皆有定制的格套可以依循，本無需勞煩皇帝本人費心斟酌。



事實上，儘管詔書例以「皇帝詔曰」宣示中外，但具體的內容恐怕多出自臣工的擬筆。帝制中國在位最久的清聖祖康熙皇帝就曾表示，他仔細檢讀過前朝許多皇帝的遺詔，卻發現其內容與措辭「殊非帝王語氣」。推敲其間原因，一般皇帝多諱言生死，除非在生前預擬遺詔，否則值其大漸之際，恐怕已無心力回顧平生或交代後事。即若康熙皇帝本人最後臥病于暢春園時，實已氣若游絲，臨終前是否曾明白交代繼位人選，都還成為史家各執一詞的千古謎團。幸好他在康熙五十六年曾就遺詔一事，對親王大臣回顧其生平功業。因此當他賓天之後，正式頒布天下的遺詔，即以他當年發表的這番上諭為藍本，重新編排而成。

在所有皇帝頒布的詔書中，最為天下所關注者，莫過於其受命繼位之初的登極詔，以及臨終之前授命傳位的遺詔。這兩份攸關天命授受的詔書，不僅涉及朝祚得以綿延的皇位繼承問題，更重要的是：前者揭開一朝的序幕，或是宣示永尊成憲以安撫天下，或是藉由丕布新恩期許臣民各矢忠誠；而後者往往總結一朝之功業，間或有未竟之圖，彷彿在天命交接前為自己的歷史定位作蓋棺之論。是

以當清仁宗嘉慶皇帝突然於熱河行宮駕崩，隨行軍機大臣措手不及，祇得立即去函北京，要求內閣將過去所有歷朝的遺詔與登極恩詔總共八軸，盡快封送至熱河，以為研擬詔書之參考。可見這些軍機大臣準備模仿「帝王語氣」撰擬遺詔時，不僅需要參照大行皇帝在續紹丕基之初所擘畫的鴻圖，更盡可能期與過去祖宗於天命授受之際的政治宣示遙相呼應。

中央研究院歷史語言研究所度藏原儲於清宮內閣大庫的明清檔案，其中不乏以皇帝之名頒發的各類制詔誥勅，我們特藉歷史文物陳列館一隅，即以「皇帝的第一道與最後一道命令」為題，回顧清代諸帝於登極之初與大漸之際所頒布的詔書，同時篩選各類相關文書，以展示從宮中九重到天下六合之間，皇帝的詔書的製作過程與頒布機制，期以闡揭天命授受者為政慎始敬終之旨。



## 謝辭

一如所有詔書的製作過程，從撰擬、謄繕、頒布與刊刻，這本小冊雖權充觀覽之助，卻同樣仰賴多方的參贊與協助。中央研究院歷史語言研究所度藏的內閣大庫檔案保存較多清代前期的登極恩詔與大行遺詔，臺北國立故宮博物院則保存多種後期諸帝的遺詔，恰可彌補所缺。另中國第一歷史檔案館答允刊示其所藏之康熙遺詔，適可作為與本所藏本相參互證之資。在考察詔書頒布天下的運作機制，我們也獲得中國國家圖書館之俞允，轉載其已刊行之勘合原圖，實有助於瞭解齎詔官員分赴各省之程途中所需憑證。倫敦大學亞非學院（SOAS）更慷慨提供兩廣總督阮元所刊刻嘉慶遺詔謄黃的圖像，讀者當得以瞭解地方大員在接收中央頒布的寶詔後，即須將其內容進行刊刻，俾便綸音轉達所屬臣民，以副布告天下的用意。凡此皆承蒙海內外各學術機構之鼎力玉成。

此特展醞釀雖久，其籌辦過程實頗費周折，幸承蒙先後兩任所長黃進興院士與臧振華院士的充分授權，並獲得歷史文物陳列館李宗焜主任的鼎力支持。整個策展與編輯從籌劃到落實的過程，更仰賴明清檔案工作室所有同仁的協力襄助，其中王健美與林憶梅兩位

女史用力最深，分別對展品進行初步的內容篩選，以及後續的影像處理。在圖像的授權與展冊的編排上，則偏勞藍敏菁小姐居間協調。又為了將布告天下的頒詔路線，結合歷史地圖的資訊，予以具象的呈現，我們特別商請范毅軍教授所領導的本院地理資訊科學研究專題中心，提供相關的技術支援，特別是廖玄銘與白璧玲兩位同仁，不厭其煩地順應我們反覆的推敲，隨即進行相應的修訂與調整。展冊中涉及滿文之譯語，曾先後諮詢承志與張莉兩位教授仔細推敲。英譯部分則由吳昀融先生費心斟酌。特展網頁的日語引介分別請劉燃先生、倉本尚德教授與蔡嵐婷女史提供專業的協助，在此一併深致謝忱。惟此展冊在倉促付梓間，容或有文理疵謬之處，筆者既總其成，當責無旁貸。

在浩瀚學海的邊界與前沿進行探索的學者，實不僅需要立足於前輩研究的成果之上，嘗試推陳出新，更有賴於左右助手提供研究上協力或是技術上的支援，這些助手多未得登名載籍，卻可能是隨著主事者走向前線，上下碧落與黃泉，協助遺存的考掘或田野的訪查；也可能擔任後勤，處理典籍的校勘、圖像的繪製與檔案的彙整。



即以史語所整理明清檔案的歷程為例，史語所自 1929 年購獲內閣大庫檔案伊始，即陸續推展整理的工作，迄今已近九十週年，早年因受限侷促的經費與動盪的政局，僅能擇要翻抄，謄繕成文字稿再行付梓，直到八〇年代始以複印原件的形式出版面世，九〇年中期更以新興的數位技術建置資料庫，學者得以更有效率的方式在檔案汪洋中循線追蹤、並將關聯史料加以彙串類分。如今山林已啟，回首來時筆路藍縷，而參與整理的同仁陸續有所更代，我們在定期回溯整理過的檔案時，不時發現早期用以註記的夾條與短箋，若干並標示當時負責者的名字。這一條條註記無疑見證了前賢默默付出的心血。我們藉此一隅，謹向所有協助探索知識極境的先鋒與後勤們，竭誠致上衷心的敬意。



## 二、清代詔書製作、皇權繼承與歷史書寫

清朝以皇帝之名頒布的命令，主要有制、詔、誥、敕等形式。其中詔書的目的是向天下臣民布告國政或是垂示彝憲。其書寫格式例以「奉天承運，皇帝詔曰」開端，用「布告中外／天下，咸使聞知」結尾。詔書多由內閣撰擬，再呈請皇帝欽定。舉凡即位、親政、賓天、加封徽號等事皆需昭告天下。清代定制的詔書是黃紙墨書、滿漢文合璧，並在文末日期與紙張接粘等處，鈐蓋「皇帝之寶」印，故又稱寶詔；同時交禮部照式刊刻，黃紙印刷，是為謄黃，以為頒布天下之用。

在皇帝頒布天下的詔書中，最重要者莫過於即位之初的登極恩詔，以及賓天之際的大行遺詔。皇帝任內最初與最後的這兩份詔書，皆攸關皇位之繼承、天命之授受與國祚之綿延，朝廷即透過這兩道詔書，明白宣示皇權的轉移與政統的賡續：舊主雖已賓天，新君但將承命，是以帝制的運作如常，而國祚的延綿無虞。崇德八年（1643）八月，清世祖（福臨，1638-1661；順治，1643-1661）於盛京即位之初，即以滿文詔書昭告遐邇。迨清軍入關，在其揮軍南征的檄文中，更嚴辭指控南明政權並未奉得明思宗（朱由檢，1611-1644；崇禎，1628-1644）遺詔，實非承天應命之正統。換言之，既無遺詔，朝隨君亡，天命當由終得天下者承統繼祧。

不論是皇帝的第一道或最後一道命令，頒布天下時，已在皇權

轉移既成定局之後。前者藉由施恩赦罪，展布政治新象；後者則回顧歷年功過，謀求青史定案。若兩相對比，清代歷朝的登極恩詔內容大多因循制式，承命的新君鮮有別出心裁之語；至於大行遺詔則頗有出入，甚至具體而微地反映出清代皇權與國家機器之間關係的翻轉：後者在早期原為前者所控，到了後半葉卻逐漸反客為主，對皇權的施展頗多鉗制。清初諸帝或親自酌定詔稿，或於生前預擬藍本：如世祖以罪己之姿痛自列舉弊政，以期懲前毖後；聖祖（玄燁，1654-1722；康熙，1662-1722）著眼於自我歷史定位，其詔文儼然是一篇自傳式的墓誌銘；世宗（胤禛，1678-1735；雍正，1723-1735）則關注過去章程的審酌與未來政治的布局。高宗（弘曆，1711-1799；乾隆，1736-1795）禪位於仁宗（顥琰，1760-1820；嘉慶，1796-1820），所欽定的傳位詔既總結一朝政績，復宣示皇權繼承，內容格式實有如「乾隆朝」之遺詔。嘉慶之後，皇帝的遺詔則多於死後由臣工摭拾過去上諭拼湊而成，或概括地總結其在位期間的國情與政績，已然不見皇帝個人掌控歷史解釋權的任何企圖。在逐漸常規化的製作過程中，皇帝個人的色彩完全褪蝕在格式套語之中。相較於清初諸帝在制度上屢有酌定、更張，積累而成祖宗家法，中葉之後皇帝則多受錮於上述「祖宗家法」的枷鎖，難得伸展。在國家典制層建累構、越演越繁的同時，皇帝個人的威權卻在敷衍格套中愈形支絀。



## The Making of Imperial Mandates, Succession of Throne and Writing of History in the Qing Dynasty

In the Qing dynasty, orders from the emperor were classified under several different official names to meet their different functions, namely imperial mandates, decrees, imperial orders and imperial edicts. For every major political event or ceremony that took place, an imperial mandate would be given to inform officials and the general public. Such events included ascension to the throne, termination of regency, demise of the crown, investiture of the empress, investiture of honorific titles to members of the imperial family and granting amnesty. Imperial mandates in the Qing dynasty were mostly written in both Manchurian and Chinese on a huge piece of yellow paper in black ink, and were usually drafted by the Grand Secretariats and later finalized by the emperors. They were written in accordance to a set format, starting with the phrase, “The Emperor, who governs with the Mandate of Heaven, declares that...” and ending with one meaning, “Proclaimed to all under the Heavens, let it be known” or “Proclaimed to all the states, let it be known” (depending on the intended audience), with an imperial seal affixed to the end. Duplicates (*teng huang*, literally meaning yellow duplicates) were made on yellow papers by the Ministry of Rites, and were distributed and announced throughout the empire.

Among all edicts announced by the emperors, the most significant

ones had to be the proclamations of the ascension to the throne and the last testaments, which were the first edict announced by a new emperor and the last edict announced in the name of deceased emperor respectively, as these documents were strongly related to the succession to the imperial throne and the blessing of Heaven’s Mandate. With these two edicts, the imperial court expressed a smooth transition of imperial power and a continuation of the political system and its legitimacy in ruling. In other words, despite of the passing of the late emperor, his heir would ensure the monarchy to endure and thrive. When Fulin ascended to the throne in Shengjing (present-day Shenyang) in October 1643, his first edict was his proclamation of ascension to the throne, written however in Manchurian only. After Qing forces passed the Shanhai Pass and secured control over areas near Beijing, the Qing court was actively engaged in preparation of an expedition to the south and accordingly it announced an official call to arms to accuse the remaining Ming court in the south of illegitimately crowing Zhu Yousong, Prince of Fu, as emperor in the absence of a proper last testament from the late Chongzhen Emperor. In other words, the Ming dynasty should have been considered to be fallen since a proper last testament for the Chongzhen Emperor was absent, and the Qing court deemed itself as the rightful successor of the Mandate of Heaven.



All of the proclamations of the ascension to the throne and the last testaments were in fact announced after the transfer of imperial power had been all settled. Amnesties were usually granted when a new emperor ascends to the throne so to mark the beginning of a new era, while the last testaments tended to be a review and justification of the deeds and possibly the wrongdoings of the late emperor. Scrutinizing the two types of edicts, most of the proclamations of ascension to the throne in the Qing dynasty typically followed a set standard, and only rarely something peculiar can be spotted. However, the last testaments differed from one another, displaying a sharp difference between the last testaments drafted in the early Qing period and the ones drafted in the later period. In the first half of the Qing dynasty, the emperors had a total control over the state apparatus, but this was reversed in the latter half of the dynasty, where imperial powers were to an extent constrained by the state apparatus. The last testaments of the Shunzhi and Kangxi Emperors were similar to a biographical epitaph, while the last testament of the Yongzheng Emperor showed in addition a political layout after his death. The abdication edict of the Qianlong Emperor, on the other hand, was similar in content to the previous last testaments, in that it summarized the achievements of the Qianlong Emperor while proclaiming a transfer of imperial rule to his successor. On the contrary, starting from

the Jiaqing Emperor, the emperors usually did not personally involve in the drafting of their last testaments, and their last testaments were typically produced by senior bureaucrats after the passing of the emperor as a summary of the emperor's life, or sometimes simply a summarized version of former edicts. The emperors in the later Qing period hardly showed any intent in interpreting their rule and the history in general. In short, early Qing emperors had more personal say over the political standards of procedure and their decisions oftentimes were formulated into a set of unbreakable imperial norms. Constrained by these norms, emperors from the mid-Qing period onwards had less and less room for leverage and were usually compelled to exercise only minimal personal power and rule.



## 1. 滿文本世祖章皇帝即位大赦詔書

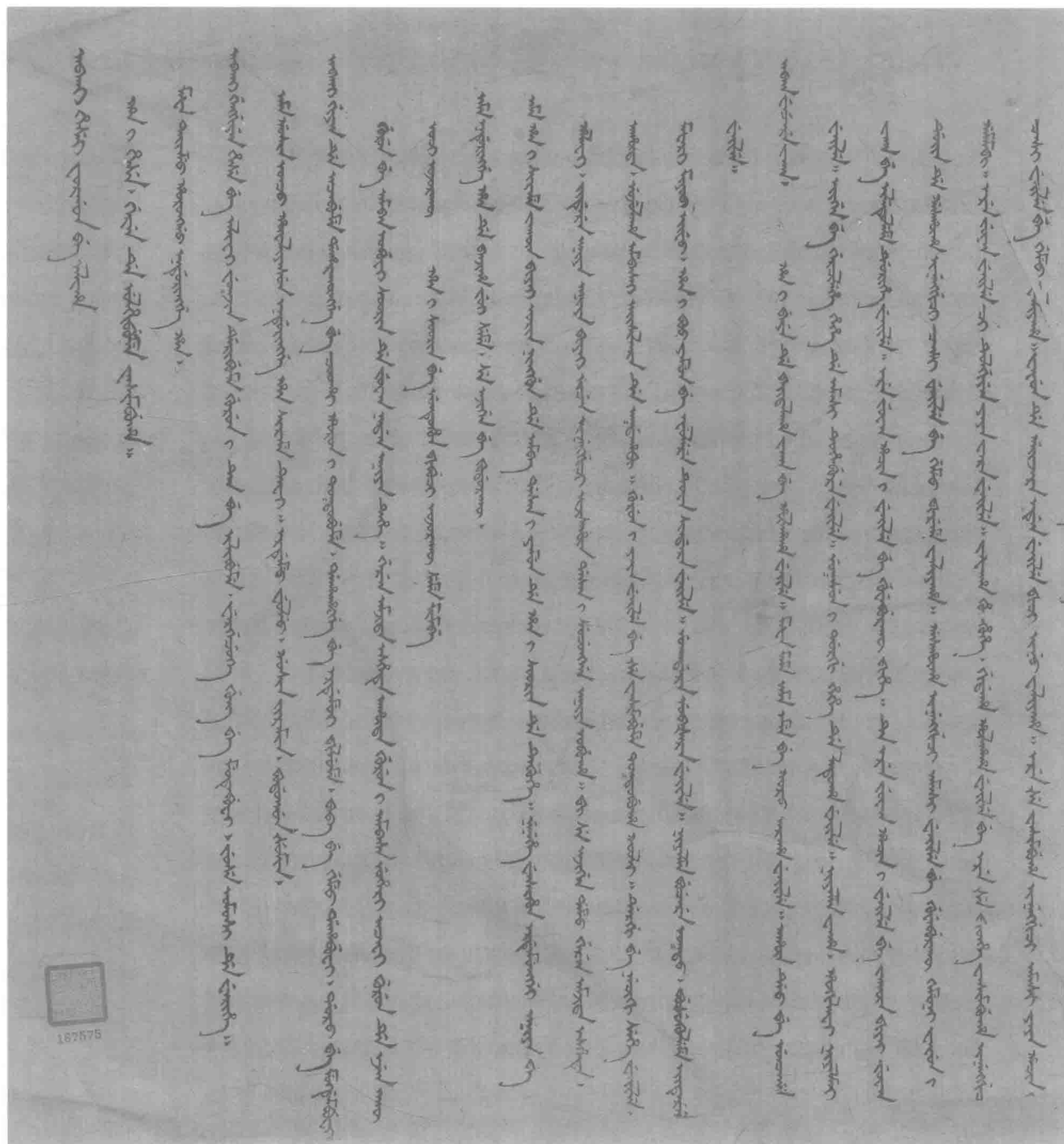
崇德八年八月二十六日 (1643.10.08)

本件滿文詔書係黃紙墨刻本，是清入關前所頒布。世祖六歲時於盛京大政殿（篤恭殿）即位，當時由和碩睿親王多爾袞（1612-1650）等率內外諸王、貝勒等文武羣臣行三跪九叩頭禮，禮畢，頒發此大赦詔書，以明年為順治元年。詔書中表示：新君尚值幼冲之年，尚賴諸王公大臣共襄治理，並以八月十四日諸旗立誓效忠之日為限，在此之前所犯之一切死罪盡行赦免。

### Edict Announcing Amnesty in Celebration of the Coronation of the Shunzhi Emperor (in Manchurian)

This imperial edict was written in Manchurian on yellow paper in black ink, and was among the imperial mandates that were issued prior to Qing's seizure of Beijing. The Shunzhi Emperor was only six when he ascended to the throne in Shengjing (present-day Shenyang). On the coronation day, all the leading members of the imperial clans and major government officials, led by Prince Dorgon, undertook the ceremony of the three kneeling and nine kowtows. Upon the completion of the coronation ceremony, the new emperor announced the new era name Shunzhi. This edict mentioned that as the emperor was still young, he was in need of the collaboration and assistance from the imperial family members and senior bureaucrats. Amnesty was therefore granted to all death row inmates, including those of great heinous crimes who were usually never pardoned, as long as the crimes were done prior to September 26<sup>th</sup>, the date when all eight banners vowed their loyalty to the new emperor.

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卷軸 scroll  
60.7x81.8 公分 (cm)





奉

天承運，

皇帝詔曰：我

太祖武皇帝，受

天明命，肇造丕基，懋建鴻功，貽厥孫子。

皇考大行皇帝，嗣登大寶，盛德深仁，弘謨遠略，克協

天心。不服者，武功以戡定。已歸者，文德以懷柔。拓土興基，

國以滋大。在位十有七年，於崇德八年八月初九日，上賓。今諸伯叔兄及文武羣臣，咸以國家不可無主，

神器不可久虛。謂朕為

皇考之子，不論年幼，應繼

大統。乃於八月二十六日，於大政殿即皇帝位，改換崇德年號，

以明年正月初一日為順治元年。朕年幼冲，尚賴諸伯叔

兄、大臣，共襄治理。所有應行赦款，開列於後。謀犯朝廷之罪。焚毀

宗廟、陵寢、宮殿之罪。逃亡叛逆之罪。蠱毒魘魅之罪。

竊盜祭

天器皿及御用諸物之罪。子孫殺祖父母父母之罪。鬻賣兄弟之罪。

妻妾告夫之罪。族內淫亂之罪。殺人、聚黨

劫財之罪，等大惡「前罪十項」，向在不赦，今前罪十項，八月十

四日，立誓日前之罪，咸赦除之。立誓日後，概不寬免，

仍依律治罪。前罪十項外，其餘一切死罪，因禁隱匿偷盜之罪，係在此赦頒發日前，

咸赦除之。及未完贓贖等罪，盡行赦免。此赦頒發日起，

所有犯罪，概不寬免，仍依律治罪。如有以赦前事訐告者，以其罪罪之。逃走遺失者，

如經原主認識，給還免罪。彼此相稱貸者，照舊准償。

將此旨布告中外「遐邇」，咸使聞知。

崇德八年八月二十六日

滿文本即位詔書與漢文《世祖章皇帝實錄》內詔書，兩相勘照，內容有繁簡差異之處：藍色小字體只出現於漢文實錄，而紅色字體只出現於滿文詔書，並不見於實錄。

The Chinese version of this edict from the Veritable Records of Shunzhi (*Shizu Zhang Huangdi Shilu*) is compared against the Manchurian version. The blue words indicate those phrases that only appeared in the Veritable Records; however, the red ones indicate those that only appeared in this edict.

漢文參看《世祖章皇帝實錄》，卷一，崇德八年八月丁亥（26日）。資料來源：中央研究院歷史語言研究所漢籍電子文獻資料庫。（版本：《清實錄》，北京：中華書局，1986）

For the Chinese version of this edict, please refer to the first volume of *Shizu Zhang Huangdi Shilu*, the 26<sup>th</sup> of the 8<sup>th</sup> month in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of Chongde (Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>, 1643).



## 2. 世祖章皇帝登極恩詔

順治元年十月初十日 (1644.11.08)

順治元年四月廿二日 (1644 年 5 月 27 日)，明山海關守將吳三桂 (1612-1678) 迎清軍入關。五月二日，明文武官員在燕京城五里外迎接清軍。十月初一日，世祖祇告天地宗廟社稷，即皇帝位，定鼎燕京，紀元順治。本件詔書僅見漢文，黃紙墨書，在詔書末尾日期處，鈐蓋「制誥之寶」漢文寶印。

### Proclamation of the Ascension to the Throne of the Shunzhi Emperor

During the Qing dynasty, whenever an emperor ascended to the throne, he would issue an imperial edict. Qing forces marched through the fortifications of the Shanhai Pass on May 27, 1644 and later marched into the city of Beijing in June of that year. On November 8<sup>th</sup>, 1644, the Shunzhi Emperor issued this edict proclaiming his ascension to the throne and the establishment of the Qing dynasty while naming Beijing its capital. This imperial edict was written only in Mandarin Chinese, and was written in black ink on a piece of yellow paper.

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