

Bachelors' Thesis

There's Porn of It, No Exceptions: A Cultural and Analytical Approach to 'Rule 34' as Metamodern Expression

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Bachelor of Arts Thesis in American Studies

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A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Melchior M. Philips', written on a light-colored background.

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Abstract

A ubiquitous, yet largely academically undocumented, contemporary practice of engagement with popular culture in the Anglophone world revolves around fan-made erotic adaptations of cultural phenomena. In the digital age, the visual forms of such erotic fan works are often referred to as "Rule 34"; a meme and popular adage that states simply that "there's porn of it, no exceptions." While Rule 34 is purposefully self-referential, parodic and transgressive, this does not necessarily preclude Rule 34 artworks from harbouring ideological sincerity. Data from Rule 34 image repositories suggests that many Rule 34 artworks are not produced or consumed solely for sexual stimulation, but also for other ideologically subversive motives. The research also contextualizes Rule 34 as part of a broader shift in structure of feeling forming a new modernism, known as metamodernism, arguing that Rule 34 artworks have attained a double sincerity in both layers of its irony.

keywords: *rule 34, hentai, pornography, pornification, metamodernism*

Table of Contents

Abstract	3
Foreword	5
Introduction.....	6
Background.....	7
Relevance	7
Chapter 1: Theoretical framework	8
1.1 Pornography, culture and the “pornification” of society.....	8
1.2 Pornographic fan labour: Rule 34, <i>hentai</i> and fan fiction	11
Chapter 2: Data analysis.....	16
2.1 Trends in animated pornography: Google Trends, Pornhub and Patreon	16
2.2 Trends in Rule 34 and <i>hentai</i> artworks: Rule34.xxx and Gelbooru	18
2.3 Popularity discrepancy between artists and viewers: the iCame Top 100	23
2.4 Patterns, categories and relationships in the data.....	28
Chapter 3: Theoretical analysis	29
3.1 Post-modernism and metamodernism	29
3.2 Metamodern Rule 34: transgressive irony and ideological sincerity	31
3.3 Why is Rule 34 popular today?.....	33
Conclusion	35
Bibliography.....	36
Appendix A: Top 1000 Rule34.xxx tags on 16 March 2022, 15:43	39
Appendix B: Top 1000 Gelbooru tags on 16 March 2022, 15:25	62

Foreword

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- Melchior M. Philips

Introduction

Pornography is an increasingly prevalent element of culture in the digital age, leading to academic interest in the “pornification” of society. This concept of “pornification” presupposes that pornographic content seeps into our otherwise virginal society from an outside force.¹ Despite the ubiquitous nature of pornography in contemporary Anglophone culture, pornographic adaptations such as parodies and fan fictions remain largely undertheorized.²

One practice within the contemporary pornographic sphere that can offer unique insights into contemporary popular culture, but of which nearly no academic literature exists, is “Rule 34”. Rule 34 is a memetic rule of the internet – a sort of popularised adage – that appeared on the internet around 2004.³ The rule states simply “there’s porn of it, no exceptions.” In regards to the availability of pornographic material referencing popular culture, there are indeed few exceptions to be found. With this concise rule as its only universal definition, however, the classification of what does and does not constitute Rule 34 is problematic and imprecise. For the purposes of this research, Rule 34 shall be defined as ‘any fan-made erotic or pornographic material that references an existing facet of popular culture’, as this is the subset of Rule 34 products which presents most salient in cultural analysis.

Through fan fiction, *hentai* and Rule 34, fans are engaging with cultural phenomena by recontextualizing them in romantic or sexualized setting in fan-made works. Some academic literature on Rule 34 does exist, and some even quote the memetic rule, as this study does. However, the most extensive study comes from sexologists.⁴ It is briefly mentioned in a feminist analysis of gender power dynamics in pornography⁵ and in an analysis of the wide variegation of porn approached from an evolutionary standpoint.⁶ Watson and Derie have detailed the 20th century roots of Rule 34, and how it is linked to the emergence of LGBTQI+ fan cultures.⁷ However, a hermeneutic

¹ Paasonen, Susanna, L. Coleman, and J. M. Held. "Diagnoses of transformation: "Pornification," digital media, and the diversification of the pornographic." *The Philosophy of Pornography: Contemporary Perspectives*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield (2014), 3.

² Kyle Meikle, "Pornographic adaptation: Parody, fan fiction and the limits of genre," *Journal of Adaptation in Film & Performance* 8, no. 2 (2015), 123.

³ "Rule 34," *Know Your Meme*, April 11, 2022, <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/rule-34>.

⁴ Shireen Bernstein, Wayne Warburton, Kay Bussey, and Naomi Sweller. "'Rule 34: If It Exists, There is Porn of It...'" Insights into the Content Choices, Viewing Reasons and Attitudinal Impact of Internet Pornography among Young Adults." *Sexual Health & Compulsivity* 28, no. 1-2 (2021).

⁵ Matt L. Drabek, "Pornographic subordination, power, and feminist alternatives," *Feminist Philosophy Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (2016).

⁶ Salmon, Catherine, and Maryanne L. Fisher. "Putting the "sex" into "sexuality": Understanding online pornography using an evolutionary framework." *EvoS: The Journal of the Evolutionary Studies Consortium* 9, no. 2 (2018).

⁷ Brian M. Watson and Bobby Derie, "Queer Beginnings: From Fanzines to Rule 34," *Lexington Books*, 2020.

approach analysing Rule 34 as a reflection of popular culture does not yet exist. There is no analysis of the artistic merits of Rule 34, and the effects it has on popular culture. Thus, this research will curtail both an analytical analysis and a hermeneutic analysis in order to investigate the place of Rule 34 in broader cultural theory.

Background

There are several websites that offer data on the practice that can be analysed. This data can elucidate which cultural phenomena are most popular to be "pornified", and to what extent these parodies are "consumed". According to data from PornHub, the most-visited pornographic website and one of the most-visited websites generally, "Hentai" (a Japanese word re-appropriated in the Anglophone world to refer to animated pornography) was the most searched for term on PornHub in 2021 in the United States of America, as well as in Canada and Australia.⁸ In the United Kingdom, it was the third most searched term. Google Trends, showing search volumes within Google, corroborates this trend. Preliminary data investigation indicates that non-traditional Rule 34 pornographies are an increasingly widespread phenomenon, on which little academic literature exists.

Relevance

Rule 34 is uniquely relevant to contemporary cultural research, as it is inextricably linked to the digital age, popular culture and meme culture. By definition, Rule 34 artworks are pornographic representations of popular culture. It is also closely related to fan fiction, on which a lot of academic literature already does exist. Interest in Rule 34 is higher than ever, and seems to be increasing, which may be linked to a larger cultural shift. Despite the many avenues by which it could be explored, very little literature – academic or otherwise – currently exists on Rule 34, and this research seeks to fill in those gaps.

⁸ PornHub Insights, "2021 Year in Review," pornhub.com, *PornHub*, December 14, 2021. <https://www.pornhub.com/insights/yir-2021>.

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

In order to make an analytic and hermeneutic approach to Rule 34, what does and does not constitute Rule 34 must be very carefully defined and delineated. Since Rule 34 is largely undocumented in extant academic literature, extra care is dedicated to the definition of this term. Even pornography is not a clearly delineated term, so chapter 1.1 will give a brief overview of pornography and its place in culture, and chapter 1.2 will then continue to define Rule 34 within that scope, and provide several examples of tensions that have arisen within the practice. This chapter will provide the background knowledge required to understand the data and literature analyses in chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

1.1 Pornography, culture and the “pornification” of society

What exactly constitutes pornographic material depends partly on the cultural and historical context in which it is viewed. Throughout much of European history, the concept of pornography did not exist. The ancient Greeks living in Pompeii had no concept of pornography, and had frescoes of graphic sexual acts in common rooms of their homes.⁹ Between 1500 and 1800, pornography has served as a vehicle for social commentary, employing its shocking nature to comment on political and religious authorities.¹⁰ The concept of pornography, however, did not appear in Europe until the Renaissance with the popularization of collecting Ancient Greek and Roman “erotica”, the term itself being coined by German scholar Karl Otfried Müller in 1830.¹¹ For the digital age, Ashton gives the following updated definition of pornography: “Material deemed sexual, given the context, that has the primary intention of sexually arousing the consumer and is produced and distributed with the consent of all persons involved.”¹² This modern definition of pornography is already at odds with Rule 34, as its primary intention – as discussed in Chapter 1.2 – is not always to arouse the consumer, and it is always distributed without the consent of the copyright holders of the cultural product that is being portrayed pornographically. Since Rule 34 is, by its own definition, pornography, what

⁹ Gabriel Zuchtriegel, quoted in Heleen D’Haens, “Erotiek centraal in Pompeï: ‘Porno bestond niet in de oudheid’,” *NOS Nieuws*, April 22, 2022, 16:30, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2426106-erotiek-centraal-in-pompei-porno-bestond-niet-in-de-oudheid>.

¹⁰ Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography, 1500–1800: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity*, MIT Press, 1993, 10.

¹¹ John R. Clarke, “Before Pornography: Sexual Representation in Ancient Roman Visual Culture,” In Hans Maes (ed.) *Pornographic Art and the Aesthetics of Pornography*, Springer, London, 2013, 141.

¹² Sarah Ashton, Karalyn McDonald, and Maggie Kirkman, “What Does ‘Pornography’ Mean in the Digital Age? Revisiting a Definition for Social Science Researchers,” *Porn Studies* 6, no. 2 (July 2019), 144, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23268743.2018.1544096>.

constitutes pornography is dependent on culture and historical period. Since our understanding of pornography is constantly evolving, the ideology surrounding pornography can be influenced. The mere existence of Rule 34 may be an attempt – conscious or not – to influence the popular opinion on pornography, and its place in our culture.

Academic literature hosts an ongoing discussion about whether the availability of pornography leads to an overall “pornification” – that is to say, a backslide in sexual morality – of that society. However, it can also be linked to increased liberty and progressivism. As professor of journalism Brian McNair argues:

[The] increased cultural visibility, volume, and acceptability [of pornography] correlates with the democracy, openness, and gender equality of the said culture. In other words, the more liberal the porn legislation of a particular country is, the more liberal the culture is bound to be. Such optimistic diagnoses remain far less vocal than antiporn views that link the mainstreaming of porn with violence against women, and the ubiquity of online pornography with its increasing acceptability.¹³

The antiporn link with violent ideation that McNair describes may not be unwarranted, as despite pornography’s often fantastical nature, “there is evidence that what individuals eroticise can have tangible effects on how they think, feel and behave.”¹⁴ Especially among adolescents, pornography is linked with “rule-breaking and aggressive [behaviour]”¹⁵ and considered to be “a significant influence on their sexual attitudes and [behaviours].”¹⁶ This influence is not necessarily negative, as a recent survey among students found that adolescent pornography exposure was “also associated with higher scores in competences, namely activities and social competence.”¹⁷ These two seemingly opposing views – the optimistic, liberal view of pornography as an enabler of tolerance and the alarmist notion that pornography can be a harmful influence on individuals and society – do not necessarily preclude each other, and both stances must be adequately addressed when analysing pornographies.

¹³ Susanna Paasonen, "Diagnoses of transformation: “Pornification,” digital media, and the diversification of the pornographic," in Lindsay Coleman and Jacob Held (eds.), *The Philosophy of Pornography: Contemporary Perspectives*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield (2014), 8.

¹⁴ Shireen Bernstein, Wayne Warburton, Kay Bussey, and Naomi Sweller, ““Rule 34: If It Exists, There is Porn of It...” Insights into the Content Choices, Viewing Reasons and Attitudinal Impact of Internet Pornography among Young Adults," *Sexual Health & Compulsivity* 28, no. 1-2 (2021), 1.

¹⁵ Elisabeth K. Andrie et al., "Adolescents’ Online Pornography Exposure and Its Relationship to Sociodemographic and Psychopathological Correlates: A Cross-Sectional Study in Six European Countries," *Children* 8, no. 10 (2021), 925.

¹⁶ Damiano Pizzol, Alessandro Bertoldo, and Carlo Foresta, "Adolescents and web porn: A new era of sexuality," *International journal of adolescent medicine and health* 28, no. 2 (2016), 171.

¹⁷ Elisabeth K. Andrie et al., "Adolescents’ Online Pornography Exposure and Its Relationship to Sociodemographic and Psychopathological Correlates: A Cross-Sectional Study in Six European Countries," *Children* 8, no. 10 (2021), 925.

Pornographic material can be considered undesirable because of the morally objectionable that it often contains. This objectionable content is considered to have a normalizing effect because “particularly mainstream, free heterosexual content, often depicts [behaviours] widely considered to be antisocial, such as aggressive and degrading acts by men against women.”¹⁸ The reason for the transgressive allure of pornography “draws on the scent of “*forbidden fruit*” – that is, on the acts of regulation, censorship, and outcries of moral dismay that accompany it.”¹⁹ A pornification of society could therefore be objectionable on the grounds that it normalises violent and degrading fantasies, particularly towards women.

However, the discussion on the pornification of society fosters a contentious implication that pornography is external to culture. As professor of media studies Susanna Paasonen argues:

The implicit assumption [is] that pornification involves a process where pornography seeps into culture, as if from the outside in. Considering the process as one of the constant drawing of boundaries between the pornographic and the non-pornographic, the unacceptable and the acceptable, it can be argued that the flow in fact goes the other way, and that pornography is a product and part of culture that is constantly being filtered off and barred from the rest of culture proper.²⁰

However harmful or undesirable, pornography can be considered a part of culture, and may yield valuable insights into a society’s culture through hermeneutic analysis.

The *raison d’être* of pornography is ostensibly for sexual gratification, but in actuality is more complex. The most popular motivations for pornography viewing among contemporary consumers are “sexual pleasure, sexual curiosity, emotional distraction or suppression, stress reduction, fantasy, boredom avoidance, lack of sexual satisfaction, and self-exploration.”²¹ These motivations may seem distantly removed from the historical role of pornography as social commentary, but this anachronistic function seems to be revived through the transgressive advent of Rule 34.

¹⁸ Shireen Bernstein, Wayne Warburton, Kay Bussey, and Naomi Sweller, ““Rule 34: If It Exists, There is Porn of It...” Insights into the Content Choices, Viewing Reasons and Attitudinal Impact of Internet Pornography among Young Adults,” *Sexual Health & Compulsivity* 28, no. 1-2 (2021), 2.

¹⁹ Susanna Paasonen, “Diagnoses of transformation: “Pornification,” digital media, and the diversification of the pornographic,” in Lindsay Coleman and Jacob Held (eds.), *The Philosophy of Pornography: Contemporary Perspectives*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield (2014), 5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

²¹ Beáta Bóthe, et al., “Why do people watch pornography? The motivational basis of pornography use,” *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors* 35, no. 2 (2021), 172.

1.2 Pornographic fan labour: Rule 34, *hentai* and fan fiction

There are different types of fan labour, and within contemporary fan works, one can distinguish between fan fiction and fan art. Fan fiction unambiguously pertains to all fiction written by fans. In a similar manner, fan art pertains to all artworks made by fans. Fan art generally implies that the artwork is visual, either as digital art or a physical artwork. Both fan fiction and fan art are, therefore, not necessarily pornographic. Rule 34 and hentai are always pornographic, though artworks can vary in explicitness from casual nudity or sexual suggestion (*softcore*, *ecchi*) to explicit sex or extremely transgressive themes (*hardcore*). Both labels pertain to visual pornographic works, across different media (images, comic books, animations, etc.), as opposed to non-pornographic fan art. Rule 34 is almost always digitally produced fan art and it is always digitally redistributed, whereas hentai can also refer to non-fan works and physical media such as pornographic *manga*-style comic books (*doujinshi*), video games (*eroge*) or DVDs. Categorizing Rule 34 and hentai as exclusively fan made may therefore prove contentious. Artworks labelled as either Rule 34 or hentai – or both – are not necessarily made by artists who identify as fans, or even necessarily portray a pre-existing facet of popular culture. Visual pornographic works can be entirely original artworks, but can regardless be labelled as Rule 34 or hentai because of its erotic or pornographic nature, problematizing viewing these labels purely as fan labour.

The terms *Rule 34* and *hentai* are often conflated. Both terms are used interchangeably on the Anglophone internet to refer to drawn, 3D-modelled or animated pornography distributed online. *Hentai* as a category of pornographic works is exclusively an Anglophone convention, however, as “[the] use of the term hentai to refer to erotic or sexual manga and anime in general is not a Japanese but an English innovation.”²² There does not seem to be a unified consensus on whether non-Japanese pornographic drawings can constitute hentai. Additionally, internet users seem to be inconsistent about whether hentai, being drawn pornography from Japan, can be Rule 34 if it does not reference some pre-existing cultural phenomenon. Hentai, originating from Japan or elsewhere, sometimes features wholly original characters, or fan-made characters embedded in the story world and design principles of existing intellectual property. The lack of consistent definitions complicate research into the popular engagement with drawn pornography online, and proper care must be taken to collect only the relevant data. Most commonly, hentai pertains to any pornographic artwork

²² Mark McLelland, "A short history of 'hentai'," Paper presented at *Sexualities, Genders and Rights in Asia: 1st International Conference of Asian Queer Studies*. Bangkok, Thailand: AsiaPacifiQueer Network, Mahidol University; Australian National University (July 2005), 1, <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/8673>

with a discernibly *manga*-influenced style, whereas Rule 34 most commonly refers to the intersection between pornography and fan labour, regardless of style.

As discussed in chapter 1.1, pornography in the digital age is defined to be “produced and distributed with the consent of all persons involved,”²³ but this does not hold true for Rule 34. The fictional characters that are portrayed pornographically are usually not existing legal persons and cannot themselves grant or revoke consent on the account of being fictional. A notable exception is pornographic artworks of real, living persons, such as celebrities. There exists a current trend of creating celebrity deepfakes, in which famous persons are digitally face-swapped with actors in porn – however, for the purposes of this research, deepfakes are not considered to be artworks, nor Rule 34. Where Rule 34 concerns fictional characters, their copyright holders sometimes attempt to take action against the publishing of Rule 34 based on their intellectual property. For example, video game developer Blizzard Entertainment has issued DMCA's to sites hosting Rule 34 based on characters from their 2016 online multiplayer shooting game *Overwatch*.²⁴ In 2016, before the game was even released, *Overwatch* became the most-searched for video game, and one of the most-searched queries generally, on PornHub.²⁵ To ameliorate the legal challenges made by Blizzard Entertainment, Rule 34 websites undertook only divertive actions, such as Paheal.net simply renaming their 'Overwatch' content tag to 'Overlook' so that searching for Overwatch on the site would ostensibly yield no results. Another video game developer to publicly denounce the creation of Rule 34 based on their intellectual property is Ken Levine, the creator of dystopian first-person shooter video game series *BioShock*. Elizabeth, the female deuteragonist of *BioShock Infinite*, is of particular concern for Levine. Levine stated that seeing Rule 34 of Elizabeth is “like coming across a picture of [his] daughter.”²⁶ The lack of consent involved in the production of pornographic fan works places Rule 34 in an incommensurable position in relation to more conventional pornographies.

The lack of consent present in the production of Rule 34 by fans is not limited to fictional characters. One of the few documented cases of creators reacting to the existence of Rule 34 of themselves – and subsequent response by the Rule 34 artists – involves YouTube-animator Jaiden Dittfach. Dittfach, under the alias JaidenAnimations, creates animated videos about her own life, and

²³ Sarah Ashton, Karalyn McDonald, and Maggie Kirkman, “What Does ‘Pornography’ Mean in the Digital Age? Revisiting a Definition for Social Science Researchers,” *Porn Studies* 6, no. 2 (July 2019), 144, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23268743.2018.1544096>.

²⁴ Michelle Starr, “Blizzard Trying to Crack down on Overwatch Porn,” *CNET* (CNET, May 30, 2016), <https://www.cnet.com/tech/gaming/blizzard-trying-to-crack-down-on-overwatch-porn/>.

²⁵ Toby Meyjes, “Overwatch Porn Searches Jump 817% and the Game Isn't Even out Yet,” *Metro* (Metro.co.uk, December 11, 2019), <https://metro.co.uk/2016/05/08/overwatch-porn-searches-jump-817-and-the-game-isnt-even-out-yet-5868974/>.

²⁶ Owen Good, “BioShock Creator: Please Stop Making Elizabeth Porn,” *Kotaku* (Kotaku, October 9, 2013), <https://kotaku.com/stop-making-porn-with-my-characters-bioShock-creator-p-1442945516>.

the characters that appear in her animations are cartoonized representations of herself and persons she knows in real life. In a 2021 interview, Dittfach claimed to have knowledge of the artworks, but initially decided not to speak about them because she did not want to bring it to the attention of her largely underage audience who may be unaware of it.²⁷ Eventually, Dittfach responded to the existence of Rule 34 of her animated characters – most featuring herself in cartoon form – in a 2021 tweet. In the tweet, she stated that she doesn't approve of "[Rule 34] drawn of the Jaiden character," but that it is not "something [she is] actively upset by," and adds that "[her] main problem with [Rule 34] is that it's too accessible to minors."²⁸ Rule 34 artist BlueBreed, who produced Rule 34 fan works of Dittfach's characters, responded in his own tweet by stating that his motivation behind producing the Rule 34 artworks is "strictly because [he enjoys] drawing it" and that the artworks are "genuinely just fanart like anyone [else's] - just drawn with an explicit genre."²⁹ BlueBreed acknowledges that making the artwork is, in his words, "rude and disrespectful," but denies that it is produced to be "edgy" (meaning purposefully provocative) or "vengeful".³⁰ In the rare documented instance that Rule 34 involves a real, albeit cartoonized, person, this person does not explicitly consent but also does not explicitly chastise the practice.

Besides BlueBreed's admissions, there are few documented accounts of Rule 34 artists explaining the reasons behind producing Rule 34. One Rule 34 artist who has extensively spoken out about his motivations is Shädman, the pseudonym adopted by a Swedish digital artist who is notorious for creating Rule 34 artworks with themes and subject matter that is especially transgressive. Shädman claims that his artworks "document [his] personality in an abstract way."³¹ He also claims that he does not often watch porn, and does not masturbate to his own artworks, but rather to "the ideas [his artworks] originally stem from."³² Finding other such concluding statements by Rule 34 artists is difficult, as most employ strict anonymity online. Rule 34 is also not one coherent entity, but an activity engaged in independently by many different artists. Due to the great number of Rule 34 artists online, there may also be a large number of different motivations for creating Rule 34 art, and it may be impossible to distil a unified vision or motivation behind the creation of Rule 34.

²⁷ Anthony Padilla, *I spent a day with JAIDEN ANIMATIONS*, Jaiden Dittfach, YouTube, July 24, 2021, 24:43, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cxjI0sGro_8, 17:52.

²⁸ Jaiden Dittfach (@JaidenAnimations), "Apologies for the semi-late response, I do not open bird app anymore. I hope everyone can respect my view on this stuff," Twitter, August 12, 2021, 7:45 p.m., <https://twitter.com/jaidenanimation/status/1425876210219769859>.

²⁹ BlueBreed (@Blue_Breed), Twitter post, Twitter, August 12, 2021, 8:35 p.m., https://twitter.com/Blue_Breed/status/1425888665893494792.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Shädman, "Why I keep drawing 'Art'," YouTube, October 10, 2016, 9:46, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvYqovEgsl0>, 2:23.

³² Shädman, "Do you masturbate to your own art?," YouTube, September 10, 2016, 3:31, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2MFXS_Vybpq, 2:50.

With a plurality in motives, comes also a plurality in effects and purposes of Rule 34 artworks. Rule 34 is constituted by a combination of pornography, creativity and fan labour, often Rule 34 artworks employ absurdism, humour and transgression. Evidence of absurdist transgressions can be found in the mere existence of some Rule 34 artworks. The rule that "there is porn of it" applies to every facet of popular culture, with very little exception. Even pornified versions of seemingly unarousing cultural facets, such as the 2021 Suez Canal obstruction, exist. In these works, the cargo ship Evergreen is portrayed as an anthropomorphic voluptuous woman. Claiming that these and other such works are pure pornography is unduly dismissive on multiple counts. It contains inextricable symbols that refer to a shared culture, and instead of dissuading its creative merits, it encourages the viewer to consider why the work exists. Naturally, it exists only by the deontics of Rule 34, but also to be absurdly transgressive by its mere existence. This can elicit a multitude of emotional responses in the viewer, including arousal, bemusement, disgust, confusion or anger, among others, depending on the viewer's disposition towards, and familiarity with, Rule 34. Not all Rule 34 artworks seek to arouse or inspire pornographic consumption, but as artworks, they can elicit complex artful responses in the same manner that more conventional artworks can.

Based on the evidence provided, it can be concluded that Rule 34 is a large and ambiguous label, encompassing a variety of different artworks, made by a variety of different artists across the world, in a variety of styles, produced in a variety of manners, based on a variety of motives, to a variety of – artistic and pornographic – effects. The sole unifying principle is that they visually portray elements of popular culture in erotic or pornographic settings, and that they are distributed online. "Discussions on porn often involve the logic of synecdoche according to which any example (an isolated image, text, video, or web site) can be invested with the power to stand and speak for the genre as a whole. When and if such isolated examples are taken as representative of "Pornography" as an assumedly coherent entity, the genre can be defined in endless ways and in accordance with a broad range of theoretical, ethical, and political passions and concerns."³³ The amorphous nature and imprecise definitions of the Rule 34 label does not necessarily make it unusable in academic research. For the purposes of research, I propose a more precise definition of Rule 34 artworks as 'any unsanctioned visual artwork that displays fictional characters or other facets of popular culture in erotic, pornographic, or otherwise sexualised circumstances, distributed online.' Despite the wide, fluctuating scope of Rule 34, necessitating care not to overgeneralise from smaller

³³ Susanna Paasonen, "Diagnoses of transformation: "Pornification," digital media, and the diversification of the pornographic," in Lindsay Coleman and Jacob Held (eds.), *The Philosophy of Pornography: Contemporary Perspectives*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield (2014), 11.

subsets of the practice, Rule 34 shows great promise of a unique insight into sexuality as it pertains to popular culture.

Chapter 2: Data analysis

There are swathes of data on online pornography consumption on the internet, many of which remain unused by academics, despite the valuable insights they can bring. Several free web sources can elucidate the volume and development of pornography trends on the web. Google Trends houses search traffic that can provide temporal context. Crowdfunding platform Patreon has data on what artists are supported financially by fans, and porn hosting websites such as Pornhub publicise their data and insights based on their searching and viewing traffic. In order to analyse the reach of, and interest in, Rule 34, several web sources will be engaged to produce visualisations and facts about its popularity. Because the line between *hentai* and *Rule 34* is indistinct and used inconsistently across websites, both terms will be engaged with in the data analysis. This chapter will analyse the data available on the web, and look for patterns, categories and relationships in the data.

2.1 Trends in animated pornography: Google Trends, Pornhub and Patreon



Figure 1. Screenshot of the Google Trends graph showing the worldwide search traffic for the search term “Rule 34” between 2004 and 2022. (Data source: Google Trends)

The graph of worldwide search interest for Rule 34 on Google (Figure 1) shows that it took several years for it to create widespread interest after appearing on the internet in around 2004.³⁴ Starting in 2008, Rule 34 steadily grows in search volume, building up to a peak in around July 2013 before decreasing. However, since 2018, the search interest for rule 34 has been on the rise again, and since the beginning of 2020 it has seen a rapid search volume increase. Interest in Rule 34 seems to be higher than ever, and increasing in popularity.

³⁴ Google Trends, “Rule 34 – Explore – Google Trends,” trends.google.com, Google, Accessed May 17, 2022, <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?q=rule%2034&date=all>.

As a Google search term, *hentai* still outperforms *Rule 34* in search volume, with about four times as many searches.³⁵ In a comparative breakdown of relative search traffic per country, Anglophone countries conduct *Rule 34* searches more frequently relative to *hentai* searches, with Ireland, the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia and Canada all in the top ten. Search queries that are most frequently paired with *hentai* include *anime*, *manga*, *3d*, *comic*, *Naruto* and *Pokémon* – the latter two queries being popular animated series in *anime* style which aimed primarily at teens and children. Search queries most frequently paired with *Rule 34* also include *Naruto* and *Pokémon*, as well as *Fortnite*, *fnf* (*Five Nights at Freddy's*), *Brawl Stars* and *Minecraft*, which are all video games popular with younger audiences. Both *hentai* and *Rule 34* are frequently being used on Google to search for pornography of popular media franchises such as animated series and video games.

According to data published by PornHub, the most popular pornography website worldwide, “*hentai* was a top ten search in almost every country in 2021.”³⁶ In the United States, Canada & Australia, *hentai* was the most searched query on PornHub in 2021. In the United Kingdom, it was the third most searched query. Searches for *hentai* seem to be about equally popular for both men and women, with the term appearing in the top queries for both genders. *Cartoon* appears exclusively in the favourite search terms of men. *Cartoon* is a relatively more popular search term among Gen Z (ages 18-24 in 2021) and Gen X (ages 35-54 in 2021) visitors of PornHub, and *hentai* is searched for most frequently by Gen Z visitors. PornHub’s data seems to suggest that computer-animated pornography is exceedingly popular among young to middle-aged Anglophone PornHub visitors of both sexes.

Search queries related to popular visual media, including movies, TV shows and video games, are very popular on PornHub. Psychologist Laurie Betito explains their popularity by saying that “cartoons are more fantastical than regular porn,” that drawn pornography has “less constraints” and tends to provide more storyline and context than traditional pornography.³⁷ Examples of the most frequent popular culture searches include movie franchises such as *Star Wars* and *Harry Potter*, adult animation such as *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy*, Western children’s animation such as *Gravity Falls* and *Stephen Universe*, Japanese-produced *anime* series such as *Dragon Ball Z* and *Sailor Moon*, and popular video games including *Fortnite*, *Minecraft*, *Overwatch* and *Pokémon*. Regarding video games, New York sex educator Niki Davis-Fainbloom explains that “people are playing more video

³⁵ Google Trends, “*hentai*, *Rule 34* – Explore – Google Trends,” trends.google.com, Google, Accessed May 17, 2022, <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=all&q=hentai,Rule%2034>.

³⁶ PornHub Insights, “2021 Year in Review,” pornhub.com, PornHub, December 14, 2021, <https://www.pornhub.com/insights/yir-2021>.

³⁷ Ibid.

games now than ever, so it makes sense that we would find a way to add an erotic twist to our gaming experience.”³⁸ Regarding the recent increase in popularity, she postulates that “especially in 2020 [*sic*], it’s logical that we would want to escape from our strenuous world and enter into an existence of total fantasy,”³⁹ referring to the Covid-19 pandemic. The context and escapism provided by the link to familiar, popular media franchises seem to entice Pornhub visitors to engage with pornography based on these franchises.

Data from crowdfunding platform Patreon also suggests that artists can comfortably sustain themselves by producing pornographic artworks. Jan Švelch notes that “artists have recently discovered the crowdfunding service Patreon which allows them to create [pornographic] fan art on a greater scale and more ‘professionally’.”⁴⁰ Among the 100 Patreon users with the most Patrons are five pornographic visual artists each earning over 15,000 US\$ each month on Patreon at the time of writing: Lilydusk, Telepurte, Agent Red Girl, Sakimi Chan and ilustAriane.⁴¹ Other popular pornographic animators are also making a comfortable monthly revenue from Patreon, including ZONE – whose *Ankha Zone* animation based on the video game Animal Crossing became a viral meme on TikTok in late 2021⁴² and amassed over 27 million views on Xvideos⁴³ – and Depixon – whose original animation *FandelTales* is the most viewed pornographic animation on Xvideos with over 40 million views.⁴⁴ Besides crowdfunding and possible streaming revenue, some artists also run their own online merchandise stores. Distributing pornographic artwork online has become a profitable endeavour, and some artists – especially (3D) animators and comic artists – earn comfortable wages producing Rule 34, hentai or original pornographic artworks for their fans.

2.2 Trends in Rule 34 and *hentai* artworks: Rule34.xxx and Gelbooru

Gelbooru.com and Rule34.xxx are the largest browsable databases of Rule 34 and hentai on the internet, hosting over 6,8 million and 5,3 million images, respectively. There are several

³⁸ Pornhub Insights, “2021 Year in Review,” pornhub.com, Pornhub, December 14, 2021, <https://www.pornhub.com/insights/yir-2021>.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Jan Švelch, “Crowdfunding NSFW Video Game Fan Art,” *Proceedings of 1st International Joint Conference of DiGRA and FDG* (2016): p. 1.

⁴¹ Graphtreon, “Patreon Top 1000,” graphtreon.com, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://graphtreon.com/patreon-creators>.

⁴² Know Your Meme, “Ankha Zone,” knowyourmeme.com, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/ankha-zone>.

⁴³ ZONE, “ZONE Homage- Ankha conda,” Xvideos.com, accessed May 17, 2022, https://www.xvideos.com/video60804073/zone_homage-ankha_conda.

⁴⁴ Depixon, “[Depixon] FandelTales 1080p,” Xvideos.com, accessed on May 17, 2022, https://www.xvideos.com/video37631225/depixon_fandeltales_1080p

differences in the content that is allowed to be uploaded to either database, with Gelbooru predominantly focussed on anime and manga-style artworks and hentai, and rule34.xxx focussing on Rule 34 with a lower degree of quality control. These two sites were selected based on their relative popularity, their focus on varied pornographic content, and the comprehensiveness with which data is labelled. Both sites are so-called *Image Booru* sites: websites that use the image database architecture originally used on image hosting website Danbooru⁴⁵. Both databases use elaborate content tagging systems that they inherited from this *Booru* architecture, which allows for comprehensive data analyses. An example of such a content tag is *female*, which indicates that a female character is portrayed in the artwork. Both sites have an internal *wiki*-architecture that explains what the content tags mean and when to use them, although these definitions are generally only internally consistent, and are not consistent across websites. These content tags will form the basis for the data analyses conducted in this thesis, both in regard to what content tags are used most often in the available artworks, as well as to which content tags are being searched the most by visitors of the two sites.

⁴⁵ <http://danbooru.donmai.us>. *Danbooru* (段ボール) in Japanese translates to *cardboard*.

The companies and franchises that have the most artworks dedicated to them on rule34.xxx are Nintendo (458,099 artworks), *Pokémon* (316,905), *My Little Pony* (175,480), Disney (111,205), *Touhou* (75,940) and *Naruto* (70,989). The rest of the list is predominantly comprised of video game franchises, as well as Western animated TV series and anime series. On Gelbooru, most artworks portray original characters (833,802 artworks) – meaning characters that are the original creations of the artist, and are as such not a part of popular culture – as well as characters from *Touhou* (706,164), *Kantai Collection* (410,229), Nintendo (366,659), the *Fate* series (261,280), *Pokémon* (213,992) and *Idolmaster* (173,730). This data corroborates Gelbooru’s Terms of Service, which state that “Gelbooru is an English-language gallery for Japanese-themed art”⁴⁸ and prohibits uploaded images that do not adhere to this. Such a claim is wholly absent from the Terms of Service on rule34.xxx⁴⁹, while the content of the two pages is otherwise very similar. Artworks uploaded to Gelbooru have a more specific focus on manga, anime and Japanese-oriented content when compared to Rule34.xxx, which has a wider palette of popular franchises that is focussed predominantly on the contemporary popular culture in Anglophone countries. Most artworks on both rule34.xxx and Gelbooru are dedicated to popular media franchises.

To discover what content tags users actually search for, turning to a page on rule34.xxx’s website that indexes the most searched for tags by country will grant us that insight.⁵⁰ The most searched for tag globally is *futanari*, a tag which Gelbooru’s wiki defines as “A female character with male genitalia,” and also explicitly states that it is “**not** related to transgender or hermaphrodite/intersex, but is purely fantasy-based.”⁵¹ It is the top tag in all Anglophone and all Western countries, except Albania, with it being included in 0.69% of searches globally. Other queer tags are also popular, with *gay*, *yaoi* (male-on-male), *trap* (males appearing as females), *femboy* (males dressed as females) and *yuri* (girl-on-girl) all in the top 20. We can also find transgressive sexual interests and fetishes among the top tags, including *rape*, *furry*, *pregnant*, *zoophilia*, *feet*, *incest*, *vore*, *bestiality* and *inflation* all in the top 100, in order of popularity. Among the other popularly searched tags we can find popular media franchises (e.g. *pokemon*, *overwatch*, *my_hero_academia*, *naruto*, *league_of_legends*), fictional characters (e.g. *tifa_lockheart*, *isabelle_(animal_crossing)*, *samus_aran*, *princess_peach*) tags related to sex and sexual acts (e.g. *cum*, *anal*), anatomy (e.g. *big_breasts*, *big_ass*, *huge_cock*) and popular Rule 34 artists (e.g. *shadman*, *jay-marvel*, *sakimichan*). The most searched for tags seems to correspond with

⁴⁸ Gelbooru, “Terms of Service,” gelbooru.com, accessed June 1, 2022, <https://gelbooru.com/tos.php>.

⁴⁹ Rule 34, “Terms of Service,” rule34.xxx, accessed June 1, 2022, <https://rule34.xxx/index.php?page=tos#>.

⁵⁰ Rule 34, “Top 100 tags, global” rule34.xxx, accessed June 12, 2022, <https://rule34.xxx/index.php?page=toptags>.

⁵¹ Gelbooru, “futanari – Wiki,” gelbooru.com, accessed June 12, 2022, <https://gelbooru.com/index.php?page=wiki&s=view&id=1>, emphasis in original.

largely with the data presented in Chapter 2.1 and Figure 2, with the notable exception that transgressive sexual interests appear more frequently in searches than in artworks.

2.3 Popularity discrepancy between artists and viewers: the iCame Top 100

The Rule34.xxx website has a feature that lets visitors add a score to any artwork once a day, to indicate that they have used that particular artwork for sexual gratification. Search queries can be sorted on this score, and the website uniquely tracks the top 100 highest scored fictional characters. Out of the Top 100 characters, 90 characters are female, three are male, and seven are gender variable. Each score symbolises one person achieving climax while fantasizing about that particular character – it is possible that the tracking of this top 100 has created an incentive to artificially inflate the score of certain characters, as some highest-ranking characters have very few artworks to their name, for example Patty and Selma Bouvier from *The Simpsons* and real-life nude model Minka. Regardless, the list can provide some useful insights. The number of artworks produced for the characters in a given category of franchise is plotted in a pie chart in Figure 3. The number of times that visitors have scored characters in a given category of franchise is plotted in a pie chart in Figure 4.

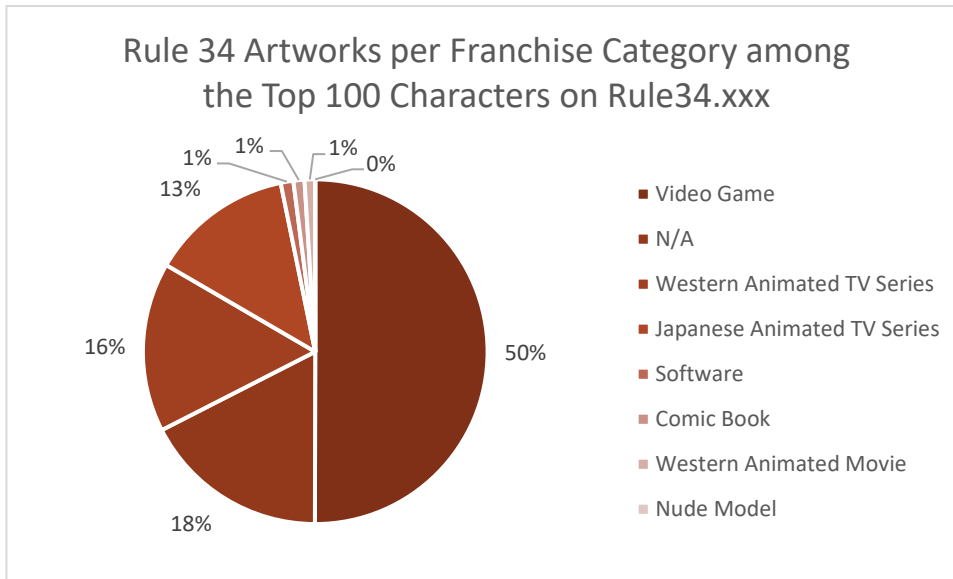


Figure 3. A pie chart showing the percentage of artworks on rule34.xxx per category of franchise limited to the characters in the Top 100 most often sexually fantasised about characters. (Data source: rule34.xxx)

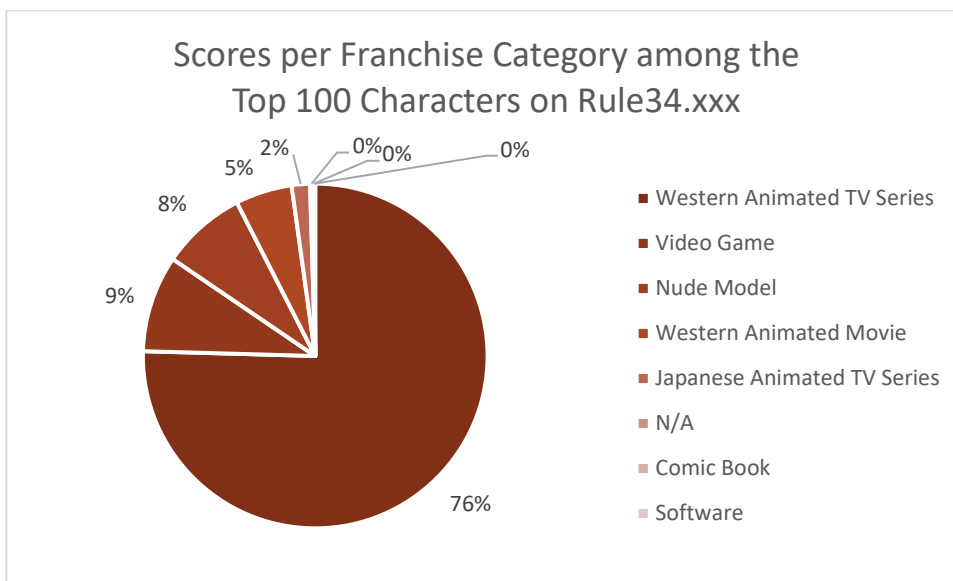


Figure 4. A pie chart showing the percentage of scores on rule34.xxx per category of franchise limited to the characters in the Top 100 most often sexually fantasised about characters. (Data source: rule34.xxx)

Figures 3 and 4 show that while video game characters amount for 50% of the artworks on rule34.xxx (Figure 3), they account for just 9% of the sexual engagements (Figure 4). Conversely, characters from Western animated TV series account for 16% of the produced artworks, but 76% of sexual engagement on the website. This may indicate that there is a disunity between the characters that Rule 34 artist choose to draw, and which characters visitors of Rule 34 websites actually consume for the purpose of sexual gratification.

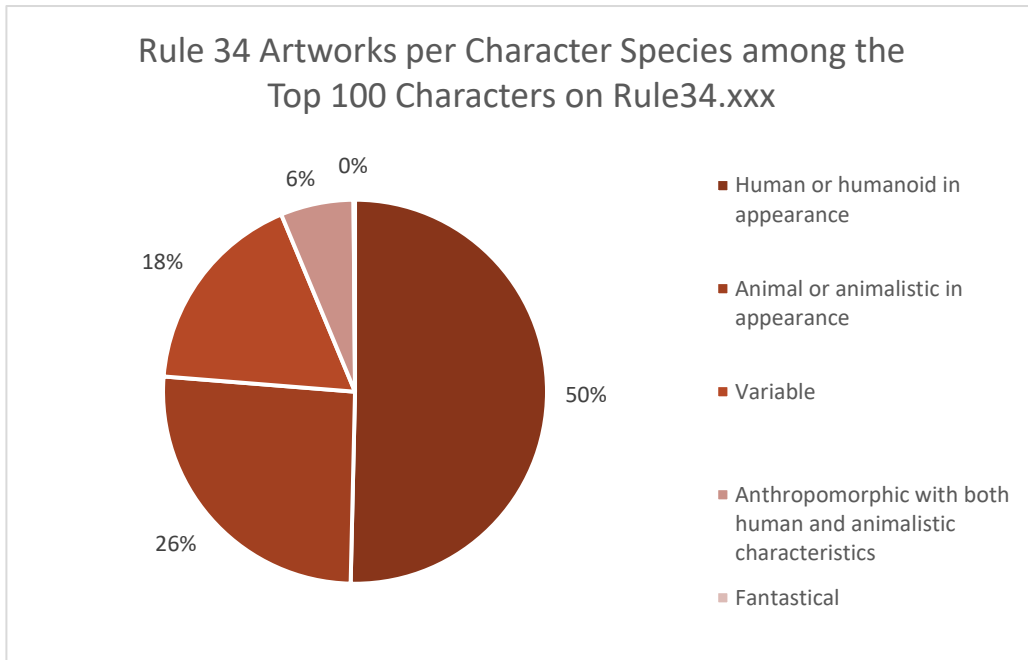


Figure 5. A pie chart showing the percentage of artworks on rule34.xxx per species among top 100 most popular characters. (Data source: rule34.xxx)

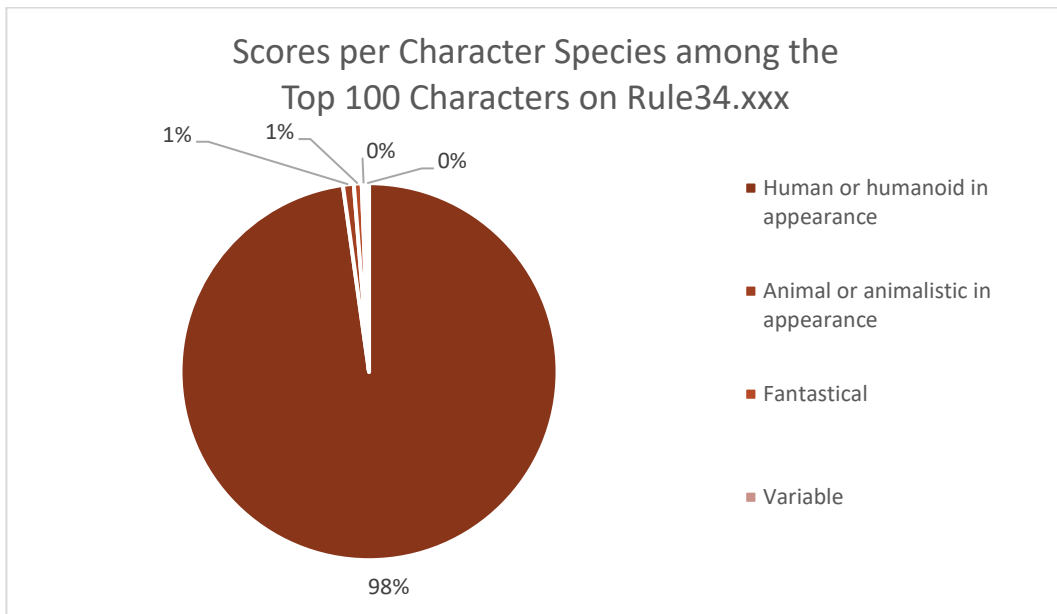


Figure 6. A pie chart showing the percentage of sexual engagements on rule34.xxx per species among top 100 most popular characters. (Data source: rule34.xxx)

Figures 5 and 6 further corroborate the discrepancy between the volume of artworks produced and the frequency with which characters are sexually engaged with. While humanoid characters comprise only 50% of the most popular characters to portray, they account for 98% of sexual engagements by visitors. There exists a large volume of artworks portraying animal-like characters on rule34.xxx, including animals, fictional creatures such as Pokémon, and anthropomorphised animals with both human and animal-like characteristics. This can be explained by the fact that rule34.xxx is not a website oriented mainly towards consumers who engage with pornographic artworks of animals or animal-like humans – who are popularly known as *furries* – but the website still indexes the artworks pulled from websites that are oriented towards such users.⁵² There is also a sizeable category of artworks with character tags that are variable in species, and these pertain to the often-used character metatags `character_request` – used to indicate that the person who tagged the image is unfamiliar with the portrayed character, and requests identification – and `original_character`. The discrepancy for this variable category between figures 5 and 6 illustrates that users of the website prefer (humanoid) characters from popular culture to unidentified characters or unfamiliar, original characters. In spite of the large availability of artworks portraying original and non-human characters, visitors of Rule34.xxx prefer to sexually engage with familiar, humanoid and female characters from popular culture.

⁵² There exists a separate *Booru* site for furry artworks, but this website has purposefully been excluded from this research as it revolves specifically around a single paraphilia, and it would therefore not be helpful to draw conclusions about sexual proclivities of a society in general.

2.4 Patterns, categories and relationships in the data

There are several franchises that keep reappearing in the data analysis, not only on Rule 34-oriented sites but also on general-purpose sites such as Google and PornHub. *Pokémon* and *Naruto* seem to be the most universally popular, closely followed by popular video game franchises such as *Fortnite* and *Minecraft*, western animated TV series such as *The Simpsons* and movie franchises such as *Harry Potter*. All these franchises represent complex transmedial story-worlds, which may contribute to sexual allure by their rich world building, escapism and increased familiarity through longevity. However, they may also be overrepresented due to their disproportionate ubiquity in the popular culture of the Anglophone world. It is noteworthy that many of the most popular franchises are aimed at children, and those that are not tend to be popular with adolescents regardless. Pornographic artworks generally feature characters from popular franchises, especially those franchises that are popular with younger audiences.

The collected data suggests that Rule 34 is an increasingly ubiquitous pornographic phenomenon in the Anglophone world. The increasing engagement with Rule 34 is evident from global search traffic, the public income of crowdfunded rule 34 artists and the sheer number of artworks that exist to fulfill the adage “there’s porn of it, no exceptions.” Rule 34 seems to be most popular with Gen X and Gen Z internet users, indicating that especially younger internet users have a proclivity of engaging with Rule 34. Coupled with the popularity of franchises popular with younger audiences, and the fact that most Rule 34 is freely accessible online, may indicate that young adolescents and children are a significant portion of the consumers of Rule 34. Exact data on the pornography consumption of minors is mostly unavailable, however, due to data protection regulations prohibiting data collection from minors, as well as skewed age data due to pornography sites only allowing users that self-report to be over the age of consent. Rule 34 is becoming an increasingly mainstream genre of pornography, especially among younger viewers and possibly among minors.

Chapter 3: Theoretical analysis

To make sense of the definition of Rule 34 and the data that has been discussed, it must be put into a broader societal context through hermeneutic analyses. This chapter will formulate relevant academic theory in which Rule 34 will be situated, and discuss the position of Rule 34 in broader societal tendencies in the contemporary Anglophone world. The following subchapters will focus on contextualizing Rule 34 and the collected data in a larger societal debate on the contemporary formation of a new modernism termed ‘metamodernism’.

3.1 Post-modernism and metamodernism

Seeking to define modernism and post-modernism is a notoriously difficult task. They are both abstract terms based on a variety of different schools of thought and movements that embodied a similar sense of cultural spirit – or *Zeitgeist* – throughout a loosely defined period of time. For a definition of post-modernism, it is most fruitful to turn to Lyotard’s *The Postmodern Condition*,⁵³ which explains the post-modernism structure of feeling as the loss of legitimation through grand narratives of progress. This puts it in opposition to the prevailing grand narratives of progress that determined modernism, which preceded it. This loss of legitimation had already started in the modernist era, and while modernists made frantic attempts to reconstruct them, post-modernists instead subscribed “more playfully to a non-hierarchical interplay of narratives.”⁵⁴ The detachment that this delegitimation incurred, was the creative breeding ground for a culture that celebrated non-functional ornamentation and the haphazard remixing of unrelated styles. The detachment that characterizes postmodernism is opposed by the committed legitimization of modernism.

Since the 2010’s, cultural researchers have found evidence of a new modernism among cultural works that are simultaneously labelled both as modernist and as post-modernist in their reception. The idea of this new modernist affect has been posited using evidence from contemporary

⁵³ Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Vol. 10, University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

⁵⁴ Ninge Engelen, comment to author, June 14, 2022.

literature and poetry,⁵⁵ literary fiction,⁵⁶ architecture and film⁵⁷ and album covers.⁵⁸ Vermeulen and Van den Akker identify this new modernism as being “characterized by an oscillation between a typically modern commitment and a markedly postmodern detachment,”⁵⁹ and coin the term *metamodernism*. Vermeulen and Van den Akker employ terms such as *oscillation* and *asynchronicity* to define the relation that metamodernism has to (post-)modernism. The need to characterise metamodernism stems from a conviction that the postmodernity has ended and a new structure of feeling will take its place. This metamodern structure of feeling marries irony and sincerity in a manner that resembles absurdist philosophy – finding meaning in the absence of meaning.⁶⁰ The term ‘structure of feeling’, as proposed by Raymond Williams, refers to “a cultural hypothesis, actually derived from attempt to understand such elements and their connections in a generation or period.”⁶¹ Metamodernism is the cultural hypothesis seeking to understand the contemporary tendency of cultural works to employ both modern and postmodern affect – both irony and sincerity.

Rule 34, and the contemporary internet meme culture as a whole, can be understood as a post-modern expression through parody. Epiphane Couture identifies memes as “a variety of media, such as images, videos, and gifs, that most typically express some kind of joke referencing culture at large.”⁶² She identifies that in recent times, memes have become increasingly “self-referential and self-conscious”⁶³ and are increasingly portraying “nihilistic, absurdist truths about human experience”⁶⁴ while still employing humour. The interpretation of memes as being purely postmodern pastiche becomes problematic due to an increasingly large subset of memes that employ sincerity, critical societal narratives and nontrivial rigidized forms – through ‘meme templates’. A postmodern interpretation of Rule 34 is insufficient, and a metamodern reading of Rule 34 can yield more pertinent insights into online pornography consumption and Anglophone culture at large.

⁵⁵ Dennis Kersten and Usha Wilbers, "Introduction: Metamodernism," *English Studies* 99, no. 7 (2018): 719-722.

⁵⁶ David James and Urmila Seshagiri, "Metamodernism: Narratives of continuity and revolution," *PMLA* 129, no. 1 (2014).

⁵⁷ Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture* 2, no. 1 (2010).

⁵⁸ Melchior Philips, *Metamodernity of Vaporwave Music and Album Covers*, Radboud University Faculty of Arts Honours Academy, 2021, 2.

⁵⁹ Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture* 2, no. 1 (2010), 2.

⁶⁰ Epiphane Couture, "Memes and Metamodernism: An Analysis of a Medium," *WWU Honors Program Senior Projects* 110 (Winter 2019), 5.

⁶¹ Raymond H. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford Paperbacks, 1977.

⁶² Epiphane Couture, "Memes and Metamodernism," 2.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

3.2 Metamodern Rule 34: transgressive irony and ideological sincerity

Is it possible for Rule 34 to be both parodic and sincere? If Rule 34 is interpreted as a metamodern practice, it can. Art critic Jerry Saltz remarks on contemporary American art that “young artists not only see the distinction between earnestness and detachment as artificial; they grasp that they can be ironic and sincere at the same time, and they are making art from this compound-complex state of mind.”⁶⁵ This observation can also be made in the combination of irony and sincerity that Rule 34 artist BlueBreed employs in his paradoxical admission that his artworks are simultaneously “disrespectful” and “a sign of respect.”⁶⁶ Rule 34 artworks appear to have not only sexual and parodic qualities, but also an element of sincerity through artfulness, ideology and fan labour.

As discussed in Chapter 2.3, there is a significant portion of Rule 34 artworks that are comparatively more transgressive and also comparatively less popular for pornographic consumption. This indicates that these artworks are not transgressive for the purpose of sexual stimulation for consumers with the most transgressive proclivities, but that they are meant to intentionally provoke shock and disturbance in regular consumers. In Chapter 1.1, it was already established that consumers of pornography do not only seek it out for sexual stimulation, but also for “curiosity, emotional distraction or suppression, stress reduction, fantasy (...) and self-exploration,”⁶⁷ and these reasons seem to extend to Rule 34. Rather than provide transgressive sexual stimulation for those seeking intimacy with characters with which they are familiar, they provide shock value by placing these familiar characters in obscene acts and shocking portrayals. The non-sexual parasocial relationships that most people will have built up with the characters and concepts from popular culture are suddenly and violently sexualised upon realising that Rule 34 of it exists. This echoes the experience of *Bioshock* creator Ken Levine explaining that seeing Rule 34 of *Bioshock* characters is like seeing pornography of his daughter.⁶⁸ It also explains why the adage “there’s porn of it, no exceptions” is so effective in its subversion of cultural prudishness. While transgressive Rule 34 artworks ostensibly pander to consumers with transgressive sexual proclivities, non-human fictional characters are overrepresented in comparison to the data on admitted sexual preferences of Rule 34

⁶⁵ Jerry Saltz, quoted in Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker, “Notes on metamodernism,” *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture* 2, no. 1 (2010), 7.

⁶⁶ BlueBreed (@Blue_Breed), Twitter post, Twitter, August 12, 2021, 8:35 p.m., https://twitter.com/Blue_Breed/status/1425888665893494792.

⁶⁷ Beáta Bóthe, et al., “Why do people watch pornography? The motivational basis of pornography use,” *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors* 35, no. 2 (2021), 172.

⁶⁸ Owen Good, “BioShock Creator: Please Stop Making Elizabeth Porn,” *Kotaku* (Kotaku, October 9, 2013), <https://kotaku.com/stop-making-porn-with-my-characters-bioshock-creator-p-1442945516>.

website users. The data from the iCame Top 100 suggests that transgressive Rule 34 artworks are also created for motives other than sexual stimulation.

Can a transgressive, self-referential parody be a legitimate critique of culture? In post-modernist analysis, this is an issue on which scholars disagree. This disagreement is most clearly elucidated through the opposition between Frederic Jameson and Linda Hutcheon. Frederic Jameson states about post-modern architecture that it “randomly and without principle but with gusto cannibalizes all the architectural styles of the past and combines them in overstimulating ensembles.”⁶⁹ In a similar manner, adapted from Jameson’s words, it can be said of Rule 34 that it ‘randomly and without principle but with gusto cannibalizes all of popular culture and combines them in sexually overstimulating ensembles.’ Due to this random and unprincipled nature, Jameson argues, post-modern parody is not a legitimate artful critique, but an empty, self-referential parody he terms *pastiche*.⁷⁰ Linda Hutcheon instead argues that an absurdist, ironic stance on ideology serves to politicize that ideology through explicating the ideological nature of its interpretation.⁷¹ Following Hutcheon’s reasoning, when Rule 34 confronts us with an absurdist and oversexualised rendering of a familiar facet of popular culture, it forces us to evaluate our ideological stance towards the artwork. According to Hutcheon, there is sincerity underneath the insincere irony, whereas Jameson implies that a post-modern pastiche is insincere irony over insincere meaninglessness. Metamodernism goes even further than Hutcheon. In a metamodernist analyses, the distinction between legitimacy and illegitimacy has eroded. Both the transgressive irony and the ideological sincerity of Rule 34 have become sincere, creating an irony with a doubling of sincerity.⁷²

⁶⁹ Fredric Jameson. *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke UP, 1991, 19.

⁷⁰ Adapted from Dino Felluga, "Modules on Jameson: On Pastiche," *Introductory Guide to Critical Theory*, January 21, 2011, Purdue U, Accessed on June 4, 2022.

⁷¹ Adapted from Dino Felluga, "Modules on Hutcheon: On Parody," *Introductory Guide to Critical Theory*, January 21, 2011, Purdue U, Accessed on June 4, 2022.

⁷² Adapted from Ninge Engelen, comment to author, June 14, 2022.

3.3 Why is Rule 34 popular today?

There are several factors that may be contributing to the increasing popularity of Rule 34 in recent years. Firstly, pornography – and especially amateur pornography – has been steadily increasing in popularity in general over the past few decades. Paasonen writes that “amateur porn has been produced for decades as written stories, photographs, films, and drawings yet the affordability and ease of digital imaging—combined with the ease of online distribution—has marked a radical increase in its availability and volume.”⁷³ Secondly, the increasing mass-consumption of cultural products due to the popularity of on-demand streaming services such as Netflix, and the increased quality and complexity of rich transmedial story-worlds, may cause us to form more parasocial relationships upon which Rule 34 is effective either as sexual fulfilment or as artful transgression. Thirdly, Rule 34’s popularity with younger generations and the outsized presence of Rule 34 of children-oriented media may indicate that the ease of availability to minors may expose them to Rule 34 at an early age, and perhaps they internalise this transgressive arousal and continue consuming it into adulthood. For recent generations, growing up in the digital age with a prevailing metamodern structure of feeling, for example in the form of meme culture, may help internalise the idea that irony and sincerity are not separate. As a result, due to the more explicitly fantastical and absurd nature of rule 34, consumers of pornography may paradoxically find more sincerity in pornographies that feature fictional characters with which they have parasocial relations than in industry-produced pornography. Finally, the CoViD-19 pandemic, during which many spent more time online, may have also contributed to its popularity. Due to a lack of large-scale research into pornography preferences that explicitly include Rule 34, the exact reasons of its increased popularity remain unknown and are based on conjecture.

Rule 34 does fit within the larger hermeneutic framework of metamodernism. Cultural products across Anglophone countries are increasingly embracing the notion that irony and sincerity coexist. Not only is there a layer of irony that refers to a layer of sincerity, but the irony has become sincerity in itself. On the ‘pornification’ of society as discussed in Chapter 1.1, Susanna Paasonen writes that “pornography is a product and part of culture that is constantly being filtered off and barred from the rest of culture proper.”⁷⁴ This arbitrary filtering and barring of pornography from culture, is analogous to the arbitrary distinction between ironic parody and sincere art. The contemporary metamodern structure of feeling is leaning towards a sentiment in which irony and

⁷³ Susanna Paasonen, "Diagnoses of transformation: “Pornification,” digital media, and the diversification of the pornographic," in Lindsay Coleman and Jacob Held (eds.), *The Philosophy of Pornography: Contemporary Perspectives*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield (2014), 14.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

sincerity can coexist, and by extension, pornography and culture can coexist. Rule 34 has weaponised transgressive pornographies to criticise popular culture and defy its arbitrary expungement from culture proper.

Conclusion

Both Rule 34 and pornography in general are amorphous terms that are informed by culture. Consumers of pornography and Rule 34 do not exclusively consume it for sexual gratification. Pornography, as a part of culture, is simultaneously a harbinger of social tolerance and of harmful sexual objectification. An increasingly pornified society can potentially normalise transgressive sexual behaviours and can disproportionately affect women negatively, although the notion of ‘pornification’ makes an incorrect implicit separation between culture and pornography. Pornographic works are arbitrarily expunged from culture proper. In order to yield useful insights, pornography and Rule 34 must be approached academically as one would any other facet of cultural study.

Since 2018, Rule 34 has enjoyed more popularity than ever before. Rule 34 is now a ubiquitous practice with many different practitioners, each with their own motives. Data suggests that there is a discrepancy between the type of Rule 34 artworks that are produced and the type of artworks that are used for sexual stimulation. This discrepancy highlights a variety of motives for the production of Rule 34 beyond sexual gratification. Consumers of Rule 34 seem to have a preference for fictional, feminine and human characters from popular transmedial media franchises – especially from those franchises aimed at younger audiences. The most popular content of Rule 34 artworks – in terms of production quantity and search volume – include female anatomy, fantastical genderqueer content and transgressive sexual acts. Consumers of Rule 34 are young, and evidence suggests that many among those viewing it are underage.

In a grander cultural scope, Rule 34 seems to lend itself better to a metamodernist interpretation, as compared to postmodernism. Rule 34, like many metamodern works, seems to employ both a modernist ideological legitimisation, as well as a postmodernist detachment. Transgressive, pornographic parody is sometimes married with sincere ideological critique and artful cultural subversion. Rule 34 corroborates the contemporary metamodern structure of feeling in which its layers of irony no longer precludes sincerity, and its subversive irony achieves doubled sincerity through the transgressive defiance of its expungement from culture proper.

For a fuller, more comprehensive analysis of Rule 34 as a cultural and sociological phenomenon, much more research has to be completed. For future research, hermeneutic analysis through the lenses of feminism and/or queer theory could yield additional insights. Furthermore, large-scale surveys of pornography behaviours that specifically include Rule 34 would be a great addition to the academic debate of pornography in society.

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Appendix A: Top 1000 Rule34.xxx tags on 16 March 2022, 15:43

Ranking	Tag	Tag Type	Count	Percentage
1	female	general	2481082	48.4%
2	breasts	general, ambiguous	2239548	43.7%
3	penis	general	1722682	33.6%
4	male	general, ambiguous	1620546	31.6%
5	\breasts	general	1617808	31.6%
6	nipples	general	1590925	31.0%
7	solo	general	1345433	26.2%
8	nude	general	1270666	24.8%
9	blush	general, ambiguous	1229379	24.0%
10	pussy	general	1208841	23.6%
11	anthro	general	1105254	21.6%
12	sex	general	1033528	20.2%
13	mammal	general, ambiguous	999229	19.5%
14	cum	general	996868	19.4%
15	1girls	general	991841	19.3%
16	ass	general	943776	18.4%
17	tagme	metadata	860627	16.8%
18	long_hair	general	808452	15.8%
19	open_mouth	general, ambiguous	758873	14.8%
20	big_breasts	general, ambiguous	753548	14.7%
21	looking_at_viewer	general	748943	14.6%
22	large_breasts	general, ambiguous	692480	13.5%
23	balls	general, ambiguous	684591	13.4%
24	1boy	general	681844	13.3%
25	erection	general	631220	12.3%
26	hi_res	metadata	629840	12.3%
27	smile	general, ambiguous	597077	11.6%
28	straight	general, ambiguous	575334	11.2%
29	blue_eyes	general	563707	11.0%
30	clothing	general	562834	11.0%
31	hair	general	560827	10.9%
32	fur	general	551076	10.7%
33	female_only	general	546241	10.7%
34	censored	metadata	545659	10.6%
35	human	general	534953	10.4%
36	vaginal_penetration	general, ambiguous	529193	10.3%
37	anus	general, ambiguous	528282	10.3%
38	penetration	general	527812	10.3%
39	tongue	general	518347	10.1%
40	text	metadata	481924	9.4%
41	male_only	general	481461	9.4%

42	blonde_hair	general	476960	9.3%
43	huge_breasts	general	475404	9.3%
44	duo	general	463725	9.0%
45	thick_thighs	general	458519	8.9%
46	nintendo	copyright	458099	8.9%
47	canine	general	452074	8.8%
48	anal	general	444255	8.7%
49	\big_breasts	general	434300	8.5%
50	spread_legs	general	427456	8.3%
51	simple_background	general	419531	8.2%
52	genitals	general	419166	8.2%
53	furry	general	411422	8.0%
54	brown_hair	general	403903	7.9%
55	short_hair	general	403282	7.9%
56	black_hair	general	402448	7.8%
57	sweat	general	402400	7.8%
58	cum_inside	general	388780	7.6%
59	navel	general	382543	7.5%
60	tongue_out	general	382248	7.5%
61	highres	metadata	381266	7.4%
62	areolae	general	380556	7.4%
63	oral	general	378743	7.4%
64	video_games	general	365094	7.1%
65	3d	metadata, ambiguous	361787	7.1%
66	wide_hips	general	327549	6.4%
67	\furry	general	318472	6.2%
68	pokemon	copyright	316905	6.2%
69	futanari	general, ambiguous	314780	6.1%
70	big_penis	general, ambiguous	310517	6.1%
71	thighhighs	general, ambiguous	308286	6.0%
72	green_eyes	general	294762	5.7%
73	bodily_fluids	general	280250	5.5%
74	panties	general	279660	5.5%
75	clothed	general, ambiguous	277949	5.4%
76	lying	general	268355	5.2%
77	yaoi	general, ambiguous	267852	5.2%
78	standing	general	263924	5.1%
79	fellatio	general	263322	5.1%
80	cum_in_pussy	general, ambiguous	258443	5.0%
81	intersex	general	257532	5.0%
82	looking_back	general	255945	5.0%
83	big_ass	general, ambiguous	251989	4.9%
84	animated	metadata, ambiguous	251406	4.9%

85	red_eyes	general	247315	4.8%
86	pussy_juice	general	245056	4.8%
87	animal_genitalia	general	238487	4.7%
88	feet	general, ambiguous	238151	4.6%
89	underwear	general	237529	4.6%
90	2girls	general	237439	4.6%
91	english_text	metadata	235645	4.6%
92	dark_skin	general	231399	4.5%
93	thighs	general	228513	4.5%
94	genital_fluids	general	226970	4.4%
95	absurd_res	metadata	225728	4.4%
96	cleavage	general, ambiguous	225458	4.4%
97	solo_focus	general	224828	4.4%
98	anal_sex	general	224825	4.4%
99	testicles	general	223288	4.4%
100	uncensored	metadata, ambiguous	221436	4.3%
101	blue_hair	general	220452	4.3%
102	closed_eyes	general	219756	4.3%
103	monochrome	metadata	216816	4.2%
104	horn	general	216544	4.2%
105	interspecies	general	213809	4.2%
106	red_hair	general	212624	4.1%
107	muscular	general	209451	4.1%
108	pubic_hair	general, ambiguous	209323	4.1%
109	gloves	general	207855	4.1%
110	sitting	general	206456	4.0%
111	teeth	general	205234	4.0%
112	saliva	general	205082	4.0%
113	feral	general	204572	4.0%
114	feline	general	201074	3.9%
115	tail	general	198191	3.9%
116	canid	general	195650	3.8%
117	abs	general, ambiguous	194205	3.8%
118	bondage	general	194027	3.8%
119	erect_nipples	general	192596	3.8%
120	gay	general	190819	3.7%
121	size_difference	general	186661	3.6%
122	masturbation	general, ambiguous	186282	3.6%
123	1girl	general	184587	3.6%
124	1futa	general, ambiguous	181641	3.5%
125	equine	general	181496	3.5%
126	humanoid_penis	general, ambiguous	181411	3.5%
127	areola	general	180363	3.5%
128	bed	general	180086	3.5%

129	bottomless	general	178472	3.5%
130	heart	general	178087	3.5%
131	purple_hair	general	177768	3.5%
132	brown_eyes	general	177502	3.5%
133	on_back	general	177423	3.5%
134	wings	general	175583	3.4%
135	my_little_pony	copyright	175480	3.4%
136	spreading	general	174729	3.4%
137	white_background	general	174640	3.4%
138	glasses	general, ambiguous	173951	3.4%
139	2boys	general	168686	3.3%
140	claws	general	168040	3.3%
141	piercing	general	167187	3.3%
142	purple_eyes	general	167157	3.3%
143	white_hair	general	166920	3.3%
144	comic	metadata	166759	3.3%
145	toes	general, ambiguous	166504	3.2%
146	barefoot	general	166350	3.2%
147	pink_hair	general, ambiguous	165967	3.2%
148	yuri	general	161235	3.1%
149	huge_ass	general, ambiguous	159966	3.1%
150	collar	general	159189	3.1%
151	scalie	general	157739	3.1%
152	humanoid	general, ambiguous	157583	3.1%
153	huge_cock	general	156867	3.1%
154	digital_media_(artwork)	metadata	156845	3.1%
155	dialogue	metadata	156101	3.0%
156	ejaculation	general	155877	3.0%
157	veiny_penis	general	153846	3.0%
158	orgasm	general, ambiguous	153590	3.0%
159	yellow_eyes	general	153236	3.0%
160	butt	general	152763	3.0%
161	female_focus	general, ambiguous	152430	3.0%
162	big_butt	general, ambiguous	151868	3.0%
163	\blue_hair	general	151372	3.0%
164	presenting	general	149988	2.9%
165	ponytail	general	149462	2.9%
166	dragon	general	149283	2.9%
167	white_fur	general	148619	2.9%
168	animal_penis	general	146049	2.8%
169	multiple_girls	general	144215	2.8%
170	skirt	general	143794	2.8%
171	rape	general	142579	2.8%
172	fox	general	139936	2.7%
173	shirt	general	139873	2.7%

174	friendship_is_magic	copyright	139213	2.7%
175	voluptuous	general	139051	2.7%
176	hat	general	137879	2.7%
177	from_behind	general, ambiguous	136472	2.7%
178	faceless_male	general	134453	2.6%
179	tied_hair	general	132851	2.6%
180	cum_in_ass	general, ambiguous	132578	2.6%
181	cum_in_mouth	general, ambiguous	132460	2.6%
182	muscular_male	general	132098	2.6%
183	male/female	general	131644	2.6%
184	pokémon_(species)	character	131284	2.6%
185	original	copyright	129640	2.5%
186	male_penetrating	general	129264	2.5%
187	small_breasts	general	128714	2.5%
188	precum	general	127857	2.5%
189	eyelashes	general	127789	2.5%
190	dark-skinned_male	general	126831	2.5%
191	male/male	general, ambiguous	125705	2.5%
192	naked	general	125528	2.4%
193	half-closed_eyes	general	125419	2.4%
194	video	metadata	122180	2.4%
195	bangs	general	120639	2.4%
196	curvy	general	120254	2.3%
197	twintails	general	120213	2.3%
198	breast_grab	general, ambiguous	120188	2.3%
199	pov	general	119983	2.3%
200	handjob	general, ambiguous	119304	2.3%
201	big_balls	general	118173	2.3%
202	horse	general	117009	2.3%
203	group	general	116861	2.3%
204	futa_only	general	116692	2.3%
205	tears	general	116687	2.3%
206	dark-skinned_female	general, ambiguous	116606	2.3%
207	cumshot	general	115234	2.2%
208	paizuri	general, ambiguous	113638	2.2%
209	medium_breasts	general, ambiguous	113241	2.2%
210	jewelry	general	112600	2.2%
211	wolf	general, ambiguous	111943	2.2%
212	knot	general, ambiguous	111868	2.2%
213	disney	copyright	111205	2.2%
214	kneeling	general	110473	2.2%
215	stockings	general	110205	2.1%
216	nude_female	general, ambiguous	109482	2.1%
217	light_skin	general	109323	2.1%
218	sex_toy	general	109245	2.1%

219	solo_female	general	108601	2.1%
220	canis	general	108188	2.1%
221	wet	general	107363	2.1%
222	topless	general	106806	2.1%
223	translation_request	metadata	106558	2.1%
224	belly	general	105783	2.1%
225	cum_on_breasts	general	105630	2.1%
226	bare_shoulders	general	105291	2.1%
227	cowgirl_position	general	105071	2.0%
228	licking	general	104764	2.0%
229	earrings	general	104431	2.0%
230	legwear	general	103925	2.0%
231	interracial	general, ambiguous	103618	2.0%
232	hyper	general	103264	2.0%
233	bikini	general	103256	2.0%
234	hair_ornament	general	103093	2.0%
235	green_hair	general	103062	2.0%
236	lipstick	general	102938	2.0%
237	original_character	character	102933	2.0%
238	clitoris	general	102782	2.0%
239	group_sex	general	102313	2.0%
240	dickgirl	general, ambiguous	102246	2.0%
241	vagina	general, ambiguous	102132	2.0%
242	game_cg	metadata	102125	2.0%
243	dildo	general	101464	2.0%
244	bound	general	100726	2.0%
245	animal_ears	general	100430	2.0%
246	ahe_gao	general	99381	1.9%
247	cum_on_face	general	99213	1.9%
248	mosaic_censoring	metadata	98825	1.9%
249	felid	general	98690	1.9%
250	paws	general	98628	1.9%
251	vaginal	general, ambiguous	97838	1.9%
252	pale_skin	general	97652	1.9%
253	pointy_ears	general	97595	1.9%
254	cum_on_body	general	95656	1.9%
255	speech_bubble	metadata	95469	1.9%
256	color	metadata	95241	1.9%
257	after_sex	general	95200	1.9%
258	doggy_style	general, ambiguous	94464	1.8%
259	horns	general	94282	1.8%
260	2021	metadata	93734	1.8%
261	large_penis	general	93573	1.8%
262	all_fours	general	93006	1.8%
263	bent_over	general	92646	1.8%

264	2020	metadata	91556	1.8%
265	pecs	general	91218	1.8%
266	eyebrows_visible_through_hair	general	90450	1.8%
267	brown_fur	general	90401	1.8%
268	threesome	general	90312	1.8%
269	busty	general	89948	1.8%
270	watermark	metadata	89793	1.8%
271	looking_pleased	general	89262	1.7%
272	2019	metadata	88425	1.7%
273	no_panties	general	88002	1.7%
274	sketch	metadata	87716	1.7%
275	anal_penetration	general	87639	1.7%
276	vein	general	87371	1.7%
277	multiple_boys	general	87331	1.7%
278	shiny_skin	general	87175	1.7%
279	milf	general, ambiguous	87144	1.7%
280	tentacle	general, ambiguous	86696	1.7%
281	drooling	general	85544	1.7%
282	tattoo	general	85374	1.7%
283	swimsuit	general	84084	1.6%
284	high_heels	general, ambiguous	84054	1.6%
285	muscles	general	83760	1.6%
286	large_ass	general, ambiguous	83697	1.6%
287	legs	general	83542	1.6%
288	white_body	general	83458	1.6%
289	orange_hair	general	83330	1.6%
290	source_filmmaker	metadata	83114	1.6%
291	horsecock	general	82710	1.6%
292	absurdres	metadata	82487	1.6%
293	fangs	general	82354	1.6%
294	girly	general	82137	1.6%
295	bra	general	81746	1.6%
296	no_bra	general	81482	1.6%
297	one_eye_closed	general	81312	1.6%
298	makeup	general	81147	1.6%
299	restrained	general	80781	1.6%
300	eyewear	general	80422	1.6%
301	outside	general	79280	1.5%
302	light-skinned_female	general, ambiguous	79142	1.5%
303	boots	general	79128	1.5%
304	pose	general	78722	1.5%
305	ear_piercing	general	78266	1.5%
306	partially_clothed	general	77823	1.5%
307	fingering	general	77809	1.5%
308	2018	metadata	77641	1.5%

309	armpits	general	77601	1.5%
310	penile	general	77426	1.5%
311	artist_request	artist	77037	1.5%
312	lagomorph	general	76787	1.5%
313	nipple_piercing	general	76201	1.5%
314	rabbit	general	76195	1.5%
315	femboy	general	76161	1.5%
316	torn_clothes	general	75951	1.5%
317	touhou	copyright	75940	1.5%
318	reptile	general, ambiguous	75624	1.5%
319	canine_penis	general	75114	1.5%
320	tuft	general	74836	1.5%
321	dress	general	74782	1.5%
322	shiny	general	74761	1.5%
323	black_fur	general, ambiguous	74745	1.5%
324	female_penetrated	general, ambiguous	73985	1.4%
325	outdoors	general	73803	1.4%
326	2017	metadata	73125	1.4%
327	futa_on_female	general, ambiguous	72201	1.4%
328	open_clothes	general	71952	1.4%
329	fingers	general	71865	1.4%
330	5_fingers	general	71861	1.4%
331	choker	general	71042	1.4%
332	naruto	copyright, ambiguous	70989	1.4%
333	sideboob	general, ambiguous	70594	1.4%
334	signature	metadata	69879	1.4%
335	school_uniform	general	69669	1.4%
336	hyper_penis	general, ambiguous	69460	1.4%
337	sonic_(series)	copyright	69334	1.4%
338	humanoid_genitalia	general	68260	1.3%
339	uncut	general	68173	1.3%
340	very_long_hair	general	68034	1.3%
341	breasts_out	general, ambiguous	67695	1.3%
342	pony	general, ambiguous	67520	1.3%
343	pillow	general	67466	1.3%
344	bulge	general	67294	1.3%
345	anthrofied	general, ambiguous	66755	1.3%
346	indoors	general	66672	1.3%
347	elbow_gloves	general	66630	1.3%
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353	furry_only	general	65585	1.3%
354	facial	general	64929	1.3%
355	presenting_hindquarters	general	64906	1.3%
356	hourglass_figure	general, ambiguous	64849	1.3%
357	multicolored_hair	general	64441	1.3%
358	ribbon	general	64178	1.3%
359	femsub	general	64167	1.3%
360	overweight	general	63902	1.2%
361	on_bed	general	63813	1.2%
362	clothed_sex	general	63063	1.2%
363	equine_penis	general	62991	1.2%
364	ass_grab	general	62757	1.2%
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380	sound	metadata	59773	1.2%
381	shirt_lift	general, ambiguous	59643	1.2%
382	zoophilia	general	59502	1.2%
383	league_of_legends	copyright, ambiguous	59460	1.2%
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385	blue_fur	general, ambiguous	59196	1.2%
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387	lips	general	58977	1.2%
388	completely_nude	general	58842	1.1%
389	necklace	general	58747	1.1%
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396	equid	general	57807	1.1%

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398	pink_eyes	general	57745	1.1%
399	huge_penis	general	57534	1.1%
400	anthro_on_anthro	general, ambiguous	57500	1.1%
401	oral_sex	general	57461	1.1%
402	backsack	general	57284	1.1%
403	mostly_nude	general	57082	1.1%
404	demon	general	56956	1.1%
405	biceps	general	56762	1.1%
406	detailed_background	general	56497	1.1%
407	black_eyes	general	56341	1.1%
408	socks	general	55912	1.1%
409	front_view	general	55580	1.1%
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417	shoes	general	53781	1.0%
418	from_behind_position	general	53714	1.0%
419	multicolored_fur	general, ambiguous	53697	1.0%
420	veins	general	53509	1.0%
421	pregnant	general	53500	1.0%
422	fire_emblem	copyright	53497	1.0%
423	legs_up	general	53462	1.0%
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425	domestic_dog	general	52777	1.0%
426	high_resolution	metadata, ambiguous	52753	1.0%
427	beach	general	52638	1.0%
428	chubby	general, ambiguous	52449	1.0%
429	fate_(series)	copyright, ambiguous	52353	1.0%
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431	double_penetration	general	52157	1.0%
432	mario_(series)	copyright, ambiguous	51857	1.0%
433	alien	general	51813	1.0%
434	rear_view	metadata	51719	1.0%
435	brown_body	general	51556	1.0%
436	1boy1girl	general, ambiguous	51258	1.0%
437	inside	general	51246	1.0%
438	bubble_butt	general, ambiguous	51165	1.0%

439	hooves	general	51074	1.0%
440	japanese_text	metadata	51072	1.0%
441	hair_ribbon	general	50941	1.0%
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444	male_penetrating_female	general	50560	1.0%
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450	markings	general	50171	1.0%
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455	cum_drip	general	49325	1.0%
456	2015	metadata	49081	1.0%
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458	male_focus	general, ambiguous	49023	1.0%
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468	elf	general, ambiguous	47743	0.9%
469	hetero	general, ambiguous	47631	0.9%
470	skirt_lift	general	47539	0.9%
471	wink	general	47485	0.9%
472	black_body	general	47457	0.9%
473	rodent	general	47415	0.9%
474	yellow_fur	general	47399	0.9%
475	braid	general	47105	0.9%
476	looking_at_another	general	47079	0.9%
477	hair_between_eyes	general	47000	0.9%
478	hips	general	46962	0.9%
479	disembodied_penis	general	46891	0.9%
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481	edit	metadata	46792	0.9%
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484	grin	general	46178	0.9%
485	muscle	general	46107	0.9%
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487	mature_female	general	45774	0.9%
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489	trap	general	45664	0.9%
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491	cameltoe	general, ambiguous	45501	0.9%
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506	freckles	general	44101	0.9%
507	leash	general	44041	0.9%
508	smaller_male	general	44028	0.9%
509	huge_butt	general	44027	0.9%
510	arms_behind_back	general	43807	0.9%
511	green_skin	general	43734	0.9%
512	ambiguous_gender	general	43723	0.9%
513	cum_on_penis	general	43699	0.9%
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516	artist_name	metadata	43299	0.8%
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518	bar_censor	metadata	43117	0.8%
519	pale-skinned_female	general	42898	0.8%
520	eyes_closed	general	42780	0.8%
521	world_of_warcraft	copyright	42458	0.8%
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524	no_humans	general	41749	0.8%
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528	thick_ass	general	41496	0.8%
529	shorts	general	41458	0.8%
530	bodysuit	general	41458	0.8%
531	larger_male	general	41423	0.8%
532	3d_(artwork)	metadata, ambiguous	41190	0.8%
533	stripes	general, ambiguous	41165	0.8%
534	slightly_chubby	general	41153	0.8%
535	thick_penis	general	41085	0.8%
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537	headgear	general	40892	0.8%
538	sheath	general	40881	0.8%
539	hyper_breasts	general	40861	0.8%
540	exposed_breasts	general, ambiguous	40722	0.8%
541	condom	general	40697	0.8%
542	felis	general	40664	0.8%
543	fingerless_gloves	general	40534	0.8%
544	4_toes	general	40466	0.8%
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546	toe_claws	general	40441	0.8%
547	bracelet	general, ambiguous	40392	0.8%
548	nude_male	general, ambiguous	40305	0.8%
549	motion_lines	general	40282	0.8%
550	two_tone_hair	general	40274	0.8%
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552	fan_character	character, ambiguous	40009	0.8%
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558	happy	general	39357	0.8%
559	digimon	copyright	39289	0.8%
560	1:1	metadata	39183	0.8%
561	2014	metadata	39130	0.8%
562	capcom	copyright	39094	0.8%
563	bird	general	39076	0.8%
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565	blender	metadata	38976	0.8%
566	vibrator	general	38936	0.8%
567	marine	general	38883	0.8%
568	reverse_cowgirl_position	general	38868	0.8%
569	crying	general, ambiguous	38764	0.8%
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571	clothes	general, ambiguous	38688	0.8%
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573	trembling	general	38449	0.7%
574	midriff	general	38397	0.7%
575	orange_fur	general	38374	0.7%
576	facial_hair	general	38374	0.7%
577	presenting_pussy	general, ambiguous	38338	0.7%
578	scar	general	38331	0.7%
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580	colored	metadata	38167	0.7%
581	vaginal_sex	general, ambiguous	38115	0.7%
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583	biped	general	37998	0.7%
584	grey_body	general	37976	0.7%
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586	x-ray	general, ambiguous	37889	0.7%
587	alternate_breast_size	general, ambiguous	37815	0.7%
588	cute	general	37777	0.7%
589	domination	general	37705	0.7%
590	smaller_female	general	37693	0.7%
591	light-skinned_male	general	37678	0.7%
592	panties_aside	general	37669	0.7%
593	breast_squeeze	general	37533	0.7%
594	3boys	general	37341	0.7%
595	public	general, ambiguous	37256	0.7%
596	bedroom	general	37236	0.7%
597	missionary_position	general	37178	0.7%
598	pokemon	copyright, ambiguous	37116	0.7%
599	pinup	metadata	37109	0.7%
600	my_hero_academia	copyright	36877	0.7%
601	orange_eyes	general	36843	0.7%
602	fate/grand_order	copyright, ambiguous	36667	0.7%
603	larger_female	general	36602	0.7%
604	chest_tuft	general	36555	0.7%
605	grey_hair	general	36490	0.7%
606	pink_nipples	general	36275	0.7%
607	deepthroat	general, ambiguous	36149	0.7%
608	thick	general	36050	0.7%
609	narrowed_eyes	general	36007	0.7%
610	anthro_penetrated	general	35871	0.7%
611	dc_comics	copyright, ambiguous	35777	0.7%
612	3_toes	general	35772	0.7%

613	white_panties	general	35716	0.7%
614	food	general, ambiguous	35711	0.7%
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617	black_and_white	metadata	35603	0.7%
618	excessive_cum	general	35553	0.7%
619	pants	general	35505	0.7%
620	on_side	general	35481	0.7%
621	tear	general	35360	0.7%
622	the_legend_of_zelda	copyright, ambiguous	35238	0.7%
623	posing	general	35236	0.7%
624	ass_up	general	35107	0.7%
625	chains	general	34900	0.7%
626	curvaceous	general	34868	0.7%
627	imminent_sex	general	34804	0.7%
628	footjob	general, ambiguous	34648	0.7%
629	ahoge	general	34577	0.7%
630	blizzard_entertainment	copyright	34538	0.7%
631	fucked_silly	general	34535	0.7%
632	grey_background	general	34238	0.7%
633	multiple_males	general	34016	0.7%
634	smiling	general, ambiguous	33992	0.7%
635	foot_fetish	general, ambiguous	33927	0.7%
636	bunny_ears	general	33746	0.7%
637	tiger	general	33744	0.7%
638	demon_girl	general	33731	0.7%
639	angry	general	33635	0.7%
640	hand_on_head	general	33606	0.7%
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643	transformation	general	33288	0.6%
644	kantai_collection	copyright	33254	0.6%
645	greyscale	metadata, ambiguous	33203	0.6%
646	crossdressing	general	33024	0.6%
647	cum_on_hair	general	32966	0.6%
648	nipple_bulge	general	32945	0.6%
649	pleasure_face	general	32926	0.6%
650	white_legwear	general	32841	0.6%
651	young	general	32801	0.6%
652	jacket	general	32781	0.6%
653	translated	metadata	32710	0.6%
654	machine	general, ambiguous	32708	0.6%
655	<3	general	32579	0.6%

656	straddling	general	32461	0.6%
657	thigh_highs	general	32233	0.6%
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660	see-through	general	32042	0.6%
661	leporid	general	31895	0.6%
662	blood	general, ambiguous	31877	0.6%
663	medium_hair	general	31734	0.6%
664	cum_on_ass	general	31720	0.6%
665	female_on_top	general	31688	0.6%
666	url	metadata	31652	0.6%
667	inflation	general	31649	0.6%
668	flat_chest	general, ambiguous	31603	0.6%
669	bukkake	general	31394	0.6%
670	malesub	general	31387	0.6%
671	commentary_request	metadata	31365	0.6%
672	breast_press	general	31317	0.6%
673	cum_while_penetrated	general	31259	0.6%
674	two_tone_fur	general	31238	0.6%
675	solo_male	general	31193	0.6%
676	hand_on_breast	general	31126	0.6%
677	\tree	general	31114	0.6%
678	purple_skin	general	31006	0.6%
679	mole	general	30937	0.6%
680	human_on_anthro	general	30807	0.6%
681	steam	general	30766	0.6%
682	leotard	general	30758	0.6%
683	bedroom_eyes	general	30670	0.6%
684	fluffy	general	30631	0.6%
685	glowing	general	30561	0.6%
686	cartoon_network	copyright	30408	0.6%
687	tight_clothing	general, ambiguous	30215	0.6%
688	alternate_costume	general	29921	0.6%
689	back_view	general	29919	0.6%
690	underboob	general	29890	0.6%
691	curvy_figure	general	29877	0.6%
692	anthro_penetrating	general	29862	0.6%
693	holding	general	29842	0.6%
694	belt	general	29823	0.6%
695	bovid	general	29813	0.6%
696	vore	general, ambiguous	29809	0.6%
697	male_penetrating_male	general, ambiguous	29762	0.6%
698	gynomorph	general	29698	0.6%
699	large_areolae	general	29597	0.6%

700	night	general	29595	0.6%
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702	happy_sex	general	29418	0.6%
703	anal_insertion	general	29373	0.6%
704	mother	general	29335	0.6%
705	long_sleeves	general	29320	0.6%
706	headband	general	29251	0.6%
707	milk	general, ambiguous	29098	0.6%
708	animal_crossing	copyright	29092	0.6%
709	caprine	general	29046	0.6%
710	animal_humanoid	general	29031	0.6%
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712	yellow_body	general	28974	0.6%
713	breath	general	28947	0.6%
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715	internal	general	28854	0.6%
716	gagged	general	28652	0.6%
717	grabbing	general	28588	0.6%
718	multiple_females	general	28518	0.6%
719	insertion	general	28429	0.6%
720	slave	general	28370	0.6%
721	warcraft	copyright	28369	0.6%
722	sega	copyright	28298	0.6%
723	teenager	general	28286	0.6%
724	long_ears	general	28284	0.6%
725	heavy_breathing	general	28133	0.5%
726	bovine	general	28095	0.5%
727	ass_focus	general	28056	0.5%
728	one_piece	copyright	27959	0.5%
729	naruto_(series)	copyright	27936	0.5%
730	submissive	general	27911	0.5%
731	panty_pull	general	27898	0.5%
732	big_nipples	general, ambiguous	27893	0.5%
733	long_penis	general	27803	0.5%
734	overweight_male	general	27720	0.5%
735	maledom	general, ambiguous	27717	0.5%
736	idolmaster	copyright	27713	0.5%
737	presenting_anus	general	27697	0.5%
738	grass	general, ambiguous	27688	0.5%
739	plain_background	general	27619	0.5%
740	christmas	copyright	27488	0.5%
741	headwear	general	27477	0.5%
742	ball_gag	general	27415	0.5%
743	stomach	general	27343	0.5%
744	uniform	general	27294	0.5%

745	shaved_pussy	general	27293	0.5%
746	holding_object	general	27281	0.5%
747	resident_evil	copyright	27264	0.5%
748	glowing_eyes	general	27224	0.5%
749	lion	general	27207	0.5%
750	hasbro	copyright	27119	0.5%
751	closed_mouth	general	27105	0.5%
752	penile_penetration	general	27075	0.5%
753	character_request	character	26912	0.5%
754	tan_fur	general	26891	0.5%
755	muscular_anthro	general	26887	0.5%
756	side_view	general	26834	0.5%
757	bottomwear	general	26831	0.5%
758	crown	general	26824	0.5%
759	super_mario_bros.	copyright	26821	0.5%
760	bed_sheet	general	26789	0.5%
761	beak	general	26785	0.5%
762	full_body	general	26775	0.5%
763	pokemon_rgby	copyright	26737	0.5%
764	messy	general, ambiguous	26680	0.5%
765	cum_on_lower_body	general	26662	0.5%
766	gigantic_breasts	general, ambiguous	26608	0.5%
767	naruto_shippuden	copyright, ambiguous	26463	0.5%
768	ambiguous_penetration	general	26448	0.5%
769	pokemon_rse	copyright	26303	0.5%
770	humanoid_hands	general	26273	0.5%
771	day	general	26260	0.5%
772	dead_or_alive	copyright	26246	0.5%
773	beard	general	26206	0.5%
774	black_panties	general	26148	0.5%
775	fish	general	26101	0.5%
776	digitigrade	general	26084	0.5%
777	handwear	general	26066	0.5%
778	inverted_nipples	general	26014	0.5%
779	futa_on_futa	general, ambiguous	25836	0.5%
780	leg_grab	general	25827	0.5%
781	riding	general	25796	0.5%
782	multiple_penises	general	25747	0.5%
783	2futas	general	25678	0.5%
784	spikes	general	25617	0.5%
785	sound_effects	metadata, ambiguous	25578	0.5%
786	pants_down	general	25564	0.5%
787	hand_on_ass	general	25533	0.5%

788	red_fur	general	25500	0.5%
789	final_fantasy_vii	copyright	25485	0.5%
790	pegasus	general, ambiguous	25394	0.5%
791	patreon	metadata, ambiguous	25276	0.5%
792	ahegao	general	25259	0.5%
793	black_sclera	general	25236	0.5%
794	sidelocks	general	25206	0.5%
795	licking_lips	general	25145	0.5%
796	body_hair	general	25072	0.5%
797	light-skinned_futanari	general	25033	0.5%
798	close-up	general	24989	0.5%
799	shiny_hair	general	24948	0.5%
800	pokemon_sm	copyright	24858	0.5%
801	blindfold	general	24810	0.5%
802	gaping	general	24794	0.5%
803	bdsm	general	24789	0.5%
804	shortstack	general	24765	0.5%
805	pink_fur	general	24633	0.5%
806	standing_sex	general	24623	0.5%
807	pokemon_dppt	copyright	24552	0.5%
808	tank_top	general	24547	0.5%
809	maid	general, ambiguous	24540	0.5%
810	symbol-shaped_pupils	general	24500	0.5%
811	mustelid	general	24441	0.5%
812	eeveelution	character	24434	0.5%
813	fluffy_tail	general	24382	0.5%
814	athletic	general	24341	0.5%
815	anthro_penetrating_anthro	general	24320	0.5%
816	asian	general	24163	0.5%
817	shadow	general	23957	0.5%
818	4_fingers	general	23933	0.5%
819	phone	general	23928	0.5%
820	rolling_eyes	general	23887	0.5%
821	mind_control	general	23885	0.5%
822	red_lipstick	general	23857	0.5%
823	creampie	general, ambiguous	23853	0.5%
824	sunglasses	general	23822	0.5%
825	hands-free	general	23802	0.5%
826	black_penis	general	23772	0.5%
827	forest	general	23752	0.5%
828	bestiality	general	23700	0.5%
829	hindpaw	general	23662	0.5%
830	armpit_hair	general	23630	0.5%
831	parted_lips	general	23624	0.5%

832	necktie	general	23418	0.5%
833	hyper_genitalia	general	23372	0.5%
834	2013	metadata	23154	0.5%
835	armwear	general	23150	0.5%
836	two_tone_body	general	23128	0.5%
837	lizard	general	23058	0.4%
838	oral_penetration	general	23011	0.4%
839	bubble_ass	general	23003	0.4%
840	gif	metadata	23002	0.4%
841	purple_fur	general	22875	0.4%
842	white_shirt	general	22829	0.4%
843	chair	general	22804	0.4%
844	pokephilia	general	22768	0.4%
845	spots	general	22733	0.4%
846	hedgehog	general	22720	0.4%
847	mp4	metadata	22710	0.4%
848	sucking	general	22694	0.4%
849	surprised	general	22686	0.4%
850	biting_lip	general	22680	0.4%
851	grey_skin	general	22527	0.4%
852	window	general	22488	0.4%
853	cum_on_self	general	22421	0.4%
854	orange_body	general	22419	0.4%
855	buttjob	general, ambiguous	22390	0.4%
856	impregnation	general, ambiguous	22381	0.4%
857	penis_out	general	22321	0.4%
858	hairclip	general	22316	0.4%
859	feathered_wings	general	22272	0.4%
860	kemono	general	22272	0.4%
861	perineum	general	22246	0.4%
862	undertale	copyright, ambiguous	22226	0.4%
863	looking_away	general	22195	0.4%
864	red_body	general	22165	0.4%
865	dragon_ball_z	copyright	22110	0.4%
866	missionary	general	22059	0.4%
867	open_smile	general	22027	0.4%
868	cum_string	general	22011	0.4%
869	16:9	metadata	21938	0.4%
870	pokemon_ss	copyright	21894	0.4%
871	earth_pony	general	21610	0.4%
872	garter_belt	general	21586	0.4%
873	shark	general	21544	0.4%
874	big_dom_small_sub	general	21533	0.4%
875	gradient_background	general	21455	0.4%

876	ursid	general, ambiguous	21444	0.4%
877	rimming	general	21372	0.4%
878	mature	general	21338	0.4%
879	sword	general	21305	0.4%
880	tan_body	general	21300	0.4%
881	garter_straps	general	21246	0.4%
882	spitroast	general	21228	0.4%
883	riot_games	copyright	21225	0.4%
884	tan_skin	general	21224	0.4%
885	hairbow	general	21216	0.4%
886	cum_leaking	general	21190	0.4%
887	torn_clothing	general	21186	0.4%
888	detached_sleeves	general, ambiguous	21177	0.4%
889	sweater	general, ambiguous	21146	0.4%
890	upper_body	general	21116	0.4%
891	herm	general	21007	0.4%
892	leg_up	general	20990	0.4%
893	facial_piercing	general	20939	0.4%
894	bleach	copyright	20925	0.4%
895	cat_tail	general	20888	0.4%
896	bare_legs	general	20864	0.4%
897	azur_lane	copyright	20858	0.4%
898	hanging_breasts	general	20823	0.4%
899	scarf	general	20764	0.4%
900	futadom	general, ambiguous	20643	0.4%
901	hand_on_butt	general	20630	0.4%
902	small_penis	general, ambiguous	20600	0.4%
903	penis_size_difference	general	20519	0.4%
904	holding_penis	general	20479	0.4%
905	bear	general, ambiguous	20477	0.4%
906	boobs	general	20417	0.4%
907	green_body	general	20416	0.4%
908	dark-skinned_futanari	general	20400	0.4%
909	raised_leg	general	20341	0.4%
910	peeing	general	20338	0.4%
911	holidays	copyright	20309	0.4%
912	breast_sucking	general	20289	0.4%
913	snake	general	20250	0.4%
914	glans	general	20243	0.4%
915	white_gloves	general	20209	0.4%
916	pokemon_bw	copyright	20158	0.4%
917	groping	general	20125	0.4%
918	pink_penis	general	20106	0.4%
919	pink_skin	general	20075	0.4%
920	wince	general	20064	0.4%

921	animal_pussy	general	20040	0.4%
922	cloud	general	20015	0.4%
923	tentacle_sex	general, ambiguous	19984	0.4%
924	red_skin	general	19923	0.4%
925	toned	general	19829	0.4%
926	looking_at_partner	general	19792	0.4%
927	five_nights_at_freddy's	copyright	19782	0.4%
928	blue_background	general	19774	0.4%
929	tied_up	general	19767	0.4%
930	latex	general	19759	0.4%
931	purple_body	general	19744	0.4%
932	skimpy	general	19725	0.4%
933	long_tongue	general	19724	0.4%
934	helmet	general	19704	0.4%
935	twilight_sparkle_(mlp)	character	19677	0.4%
936	female/female	general	19672	0.4%
937	nose_piercing	general	19655	0.4%
938	brown_skin	general	19654	0.4%
939	against_wall	general	19645	0.4%
940	vaginal_insertion	general	19610	0.4%
941	whiskers	general	19579	0.4%
942	2022	metadata	19566	0.4%
943	grey_eyes	general	19549	0.4%
944	multicolored_tail	general	19548	0.4%
945	succubus	general	19538	0.4%
946	v	general, ambiguous	19504	0.4%
947	virtual_youtuber	metadata	19477	0.4%
948	tan	general	19477	0.4%
949	miniskirt	general	19471	0.4%
950	upskirt	general, ambiguous	19453	0.4%
951	persona	copyright, ambiguous	19423	0.4%
952	uterus	general	19332	0.4%
953	skindentation	general	19323	0.4%
954	breast_expansion	general, ambiguous	19293	0.4%
955	thick_lips	general	19198	0.4%
956	membranous_wings	general	19192	0.4%
957	smirk	general	19167	0.4%
958	star_wars	copyright, ambiguous	19131	0.4%
959	portrait	metadata, ambiguous	19131	0.4%
960	plump	general, ambiguous	19122	0.4%
961	clothed_female	general	19093	0.4%
962	big_muscles	general	19064	0.4%

963	striped	general	19028	0.4%
964	fat_ass	general	19025	0.4%
965	inner_ear_fluff	general	19014	0.4%
966	tifa_lockhart	character, ambiguous	18964	0.4%
967	cum_in_uterus	general	18952	0.4%
968	exhibitionism	general	18907	0.4%
969	thigh_gap	general	18843	0.4%
970	orgy	general, ambiguous	18818	0.4%
971	facesitting	general, ambiguous	18777	0.4%
972	breasts_outside	general	18671	0.4%
973	sisters	general	18665	0.4%
974	wet_pussy	general	18646	0.4%
975	cape	general	18636	0.4%
976	bell	general	18631	0.4%
977	pale-skinned_male	general	18598	0.4%
978	commission	metadata	18583	0.4%
979	vulva	general	18562	0.4%
980	mass_effect	copyright	18550	0.4%
981	fishnets	general	18537	0.4%
982	goat	general	18509	0.4%
983	teen_titans	copyright	18448	0.4%
984	arm_support	general	18447	0.4%
985	black_gloves	general	18442	0.4%
986	tentacles	general, ambiguous	18393	0.4%
987	pink_nose	general	18366	0.4%
988	orgasm_face	general	18331	0.4%
989	male_pubic_hair	general	18302	0.4%
990	fully_clothed	general	18288	0.4%
991	outercourse	general, ambiguous	18283	0.4%
992	muscular_futanari	general	18274	0.4%
993	butt_crack	general	18266	0.4%
994	first_person_view	general	18258	0.4%
995	nickelodeon	copyright	18151	0.4%
996	heterochromia	general, ambiguous	18137	0.4%
997	tanline	general	18118	0.4%
998	seaside	general	18072	0.4%
999	human_on_feral	general	18071	0.4%
1000	sleeping	general	17954	0.4%

Appendix B: Top 1000 Gelbooru tags on 16 March 2022, 15:25

Ranking	Tag	Tag Type	Count	Percentage
1	1girl	general	4607570	69.3%
2	sole_female	general, ambiguous	3957384	59.5%
3	solo	general	3353444	50.4%
4	highres	metadata	3204247	48.2%
5	long_hair	general	3017590	45.4%
6	breasts	general	2937668	44.2%
7	blush	general	2423525	36.5%
8	\blush	general	2054982	30.9%
9	looking_at_viewer	general	2011707	30.3%
10	smile	general	1914468	28.8%
11	open_mouth	general	1667257	25.1%
12	short_hair	general	1651827	24.8%
13	blue_eyes	general	1341489	20.2%
14	large_breasts	general, ambiguous	1269629	19.1%
15	blonde_hair	general	1252199	18.8%
16	brown_hair	general	1202378	18.1%
17	bangs	general	1191737	17.9%
18	multiple_girls	general	1115689	16.8%
19	black_hair	general, ambiguous	1082449	16.3%
20	skirt	general	1079373	16.2%
21	simple_background	general	1047322	15.8%
22	1boy	general	1017592	15.3%
23	nipples	general, ambiguous	990903	14.9%
24	thighhighs	general	954008	14.3%
25	red_eyes	general, ambiguous	908983	13.7%
26	eyebrows_visible_through_hair	general	898559	13.5%
27	hair_ornament	general	877479	13.2%
28	gloves	general, ambiguous	861322	13.0%
29	white_background	general	857673	12.9%
30	navel	general	856324	12.9%
31	absurdres	metadata	852409	12.8%
32	sole_male	general	844526	12.7%
33	10s	general	844082	12.7%
34	hat	general	842542	12.7%
35	original	copyright	833802	12.5%
36	shirt	general	822653	12.4%
37	dress	general	796012	12.0%
38	underwear	general	759497	11.4%
39	ribbon	general	751774	11.3%
40	cleavage	general, ambiguous	744322	11.2%
41	2girls	general	738324	11.1%

42	female_focus	general	720987	10.8%
43	bow	general	711465	10.7%
44	touhou	copyright	706164	10.6%
45	brown_eyes	general	704519	10.6%
46	twintails	general	697760	10.5%
47	ass	general, ambiguous	693561	10.4%
48	nude	general	687646	10.3%
49	bad_id	metadata	679811	10.2%
50	long_sleeves	general	675050	10.2%
51	censored	general, ambiguous	667103	10.0%
52	animal_ears	general	660850	9.9%
53	absurd_res	deprecated	654997	9.9%
54	sitting	general	648625	9.8%
55	bare_shoulders	general	642712	9.7%
56	green_eyes	general, ambiguous	635448	9.6%
57	panties	general, ambiguous	630715	9.5%
58	penis	general	629225	9.5%
59	jewelry	general	614645	9.2%
60	standing	general, ambiguous	608232	9.1%
61	blue_hair	general, ambiguous	605491	9.1%
62	bad_pixiv_id	metadata	600675	9.0%
63	pussy	general	581476	8.7%
64	school_uniform	general	575344	8.7%
65	commentary_request	metadata	567143	8.5%
66	holding	general	560068	8.4%
67	hair_between_eyes	general	553422	8.3%
68	very_long_hair	general, ambiguous	546261	8.2%
69	purple_eyes	general	544427	8.2%
70	\green_eyes	general	517412	7.8%
71	swimsuit	general	498987	7.5%
72	translation_request	metadata	496410	7.5%
73	medium_breasts	general	495827	7.5%
74	collarbone	general	491811	7.4%
75	clavicle	deprecated	484225	7.3%
76	black_legwear	general	470683	7.1%
77	purple_hair	general, ambiguous	468590	7.0%
78	tail	general	466467	7.0%
79	ponytail	general	463533	7.0%
80	full_body	general, ambiguous	462710	7.0%
81	closed_mouth	general	461967	6.9%
82	sweat	general	461126	6.9%
83	thighs	general	459991	6.9%
84	sex	general, ambiguous	455104	6.8%
85	pink_hair	general, ambiguous	450301	6.8%
86	yellow_eyes	general	448577	6.7%

87	weapon	general	426939	6.4%
88	monochrome	general	426085	6.4%
89	eyes_closed	general	426030	6.4%
90	hair_ribbon	general	426013	6.4%
91	cum	general, ambiguous	415404	6.2%
92	male_focus	general, ambiguous	414191	6.2%
93	kantai_collection	copyright	410229	6.2%
94	hetero	general	407511	6.1%
95	jacket	general	399870	6.0%
96	lying	general	396605	6.0%
97	red_hair	general, ambiguous	379250	5.7%
98	braid	general	377509	5.7%
99	silver_hair	general, ambiguous	373490	5.6%
100	flower	general	373046	5.6%
101	small_breasts	general	371317	5.6%
102	nintendo	copyright	366659	5.5%
103	multiple_boys	general	366380	5.5%
104	upper_body	general	365880	5.5%
105	heart	general	362243	5.4%
106	bikini	general	362078	5.4%
107	ahoge	general	361294	5.4%
108	hair_bow	general, ambiguous	342863	5.2%
109	pantyhose	general	333239	5.0%
110	white_shirt	general	331322	5.0%
111	boots	general	330677	5.0%
112	barefoot	general, ambiguous	319540	4.8%
113	braids	deprecated	319011	4.8%
114	earrings	general	316837	4.8%
115	tongue	general	315282	4.7%
116	short_sleeves	general	314617	4.7%
117	white_hair	general	313577	4.7%
118	00s	general	310599	4.7%
119	:d	general	309961	4.7%
120	green_hair	general	307641	4.6%
121	vaginal	general	303825	4.6%
122	spread_legs	general	302091	4.5%
123	hairband	general	301910	4.5%
124	glasses	general	301797	4.5%
125	uncensored	general	300208	4.5%
126	outdoors	general	299334	4.5%
127	shiny	general	294959	4.4%
128	cowboy_shot	general	290848	4.4%
129	tagme	metadata	290345	4.4%
130	pleated_skirt	general	290104	4.4%
131	huge_breasts	general	289222	4.4%

132	japanese_clothes	general, ambiguous	283900	4.3%
133	parted_lips	general	281705	4.2%
134	sky	general	277703	4.2%
135	shoes	general, ambiguous	274238	4.1%
136	one_eye_closed	general	273514	4.1%
137	white_legwear	general	272265	4.1%
138	wings	general	272118	4.1%
139	comic	general	271662	4.1%
140	sidelocks	general	270025	4.1%
141	open_clothes	general	269631	4.1%
142	loli	general, ambiguous	268210	4.0%
143	areolae	general	266410	4.0%
144	solo_focus	general	264637	4.0%
145	food	general	263919	4.0%
146	detached_sleeves	general	262352	3.9%
147	multicolored_hair	general	262130	3.9%
148	fate_series	copyright	261280	3.9%
149	tears	general	261099	3.9%
150	horns	general	260553	3.9%
151	looking_back	general	257942	3.9%
152	teeth	general	256556	3.9%
153	frills	general	249257	3.7%
154	necktie	general	247132	3.7%
155	shorts	general	246554	3.7%
156	greyscale	general	244306	3.7%
157	grayscale	deprecated	242924	3.7%
158	pointy_ears	general	242683	3.7%
159	serafuku	general	242313	3.6%
160	indoors	general	240397	3.6%
161	dark_skin	general	236997	3.6%
162	feet	general	235869	3.5%
163	elbow_gloves	general	227709	3.4%
164	2boys	general, ambiguous	227692	3.4%
165	commentary	metadata	223119	3.4%
166	choker	general	221615	3.3%
167	striped	general	217889	3.3%
168	artist_name	general	216670	3.3%
169	pokemon	copyright	213992	3.2%
170	tongue_out	general, ambiguous	211527	3.2%
171	day	general	210490	3.2%
172	sleeveless	general	209591	3.2%
173	alternate_costume	general, ambiguous	209028	3.1%
174	midriff	general	208556	3.1%
175	hairclip	general	206996	3.1%
176	fang	general	203894	3.1%

177	official_art	metadata	203302	3.1%
178	sword	general	201841	3.0%
179	dark-skin	deprecated	200939	3.0%
180	game_freak	copyright	199697	3.0%
181	creatures_company	copyright	199614	3.0%
182	flat_chest	general, ambiguous	198939	3.0%
183	on_back	general	196816	3.0%
184	belt	general	194307	2.9%
185	from_behind	general	192091	2.9%
186	cat_ears	general	190394	2.9%
187	nail_polish	general	190121	2.9%
188	black_gloves	general	188067	2.8%
189	artist_request	metadata	183494	2.8%
190	cloud	general	181450	2.7%
191	armpits	general	181271	2.7%
192	shiny_skin	general	179608	2.7%
193	fate_grand_order	copyright	179589	2.7%
194	orange_hair	general	174307	2.6%
195	idolmaster	copyright, ambiguous	173730	2.6%
196	clothes_lift	general	173660	2.6%
197	bared_teeth	general	173011	2.6%
198	miniskirt	general	172869	2.6%
199	pants	general	172703	2.6%
200	pink_eyes	general	171982	2.6%
201	anus	general	171948	2.6%
202	legs	general	171606	2.6%
203	barrette	general	171513	2.6%
204	bra	general	170992	2.6%
205	3girls	general	170281	2.6%
206	socks	general	169836	2.6%
207	yuri	general, ambiguous	169599	2.6%
208	puffy_sleeves	general	169593	2.6%
209	white_gloves	general	165949	2.5%
210	fingerless_gloves	general	165662	2.5%
211	covered_erec_t_nipples	general	164204	2.5%
212	grey_hair	general	163260	2.5%
213	animated	metadata	160773	2.4%
214	hair_flower	general	160576	2.4%
215	pubic_hair	general	159555	2.4%
216	gradient	general	158063	2.4%
217	cum_in_pussy	general	157581	2.4%
218	game_cg	metadata, ambiguous	156527	2.4%
219	water	general	155389	2.3%

220	collared_shirt	general	154900	2.3%
221	bed	general	154618	2.3%
222	butt_hole	general	153682	2.3%
223	butthole	deprecated	153487	2.3%
224	shiny_hair	general	152395	2.3%
225	signature	general	152184	2.3%
226	gradient_background	general	151506	2.3%
227	hood	general	151212	2.3%
228	white_panties	general	150978	2.3%
229	black_eyes	general	150918	2.3%
230	kimono	general	150371	2.3%
231	necklace	general	150029	2.3%
232	animation	deprecated	149815	2.3%
233	pussy_juice	general	148334	2.2%
234	lowres	metadata	148317	2.2%
235	collar	general	147697	2.2%
236	uniform	general, ambiguous	146308	2.2%
237	saliva	general	145950	2.2%
238	armor	general	145784	2.2%
239	cape	general	144136	2.2%
240	translated	metadata	143171	2.2%
241	oral	general	141965	2.1%
242	blunt_bangs	general	141914	2.1%
243	high_heels	general	141057	2.1%
244	scarf	general	140286	2.1%
245	black_skirt	general	139136	2.1%
246	bag	general	138839	2.1%
247	side_ponytail	general	138831	2.1%
248	wide_sleeves	general	138621	2.1%
249	hand_up	general	137644	2.1%
250	character_name	general	137433	2.1%
251	bottomless	general	136553	2.1%
252	toes	general, ambiguous	135833	2.0%
253	bowtie	general	135520	2.0%
254	star_symbol	general	135161	2.0%
255	nakadashi	deprecated	133963	2.0%
256	hair_over_one_eye	general	133049	2.0%
257	spit	deprecated	132402	2.0%
258	grin	general	130546	2.0%
259	chibi	general	130483	2.0%
260	no_panties	general	130449	2.0%
261	grey_background	general	130150	2.0%
262	pokemon_game	copyright	129220	1.9%
263	arms_up	general	129162	1.9%
264	aqua_eyes	general, ambiguous	125499	1.9%

265	apron	general	124681	1.9%
266	no_bra	general	124672	1.9%
267	sweatdrop	general	124487	1.9%
268	wet	general	123866	1.9%
269	stomach	general	123696	1.9%
270	mole	general	123585	1.9%
271	leotard	general	123292	1.9%
272	white_dress	general	121912	1.8%
273	:o	general	121831	1.8%
274	off_shoulder	general	121475	1.8%
275	bracelet	general	121392	1.8%
276	sailor_collar	general	121205	1.8%
277	looking_at_another	general	121037	1.8%
278	torn_clothes	general	120936	1.8%
279	lips	general, ambiguous	120579	1.8%
280	vocaloid	copyright	119899	1.8%
281	groin	general	119534	1.8%
282	virtual_youtuber	general	118995	1.8%
283	medium_hair	general	118384	1.8%
284	cosplay	general	117995	1.8%
285	erection	general	117601	1.8%
286	twin_braids	general	117518	1.8%
287	sketch	general, ambiguous	117264	1.8%
288	matching_hair_eyes	general	116876	1.8%
289	twitter_username	general	116182	1.7%
290	hands_above_head	general	116062	1.7%
291	black_footwear	general	114387	1.7%
292	bdsm	general	113952	1.7%
293	holding_weapon	general	113703	1.7%
294	fellatio	general	113273	1.7%
295	anal	general	113087	1.7%
296	grabbing	general	112938	1.7%
297	cleft_of_venus	general	112792	1.7%
298	cat_tail	general	112063	1.7%
299	dated	general	111911	1.7%
300	kneeling	general	111634	1.7%
301	pillow	general	111577	1.7%
302	testicles	general	111027	1.7%
303	arms_above_head	general	110682	1.7%
304	vest	general	109953	1.7%
305	arm_up	general	108999	1.6%
306	blurry	general	108681	1.6%
307	sweater	general	108642	1.6%
308	tree	general	108529	1.6%
309	thick_thighs	general	107975	1.6%

310	zettai_ryouiki	general	107506	1.6%
311	black_dress	general	107108	1.6%
312	cum_on_body	general	106370	1.6%
313	bound	general	106335	1.6%
314	animated_gif	metadata, ambiguous	104602	1.6%
315	maid	general	103567	1.6%
316	breast_grab	general	102129	1.5%
317	two_side_up	general	102076	1.5%
318	muscular	general	101355	1.5%
319	pov	general	99520	1.5%
320	idolmaster_cinderella_girls	copyright	99191	1.5%
321	closed_eyes	general	99103	1.5%
322	wink	general	98981	1.5%
323	text_focus	general	98922	1.5%
324	english_text	general	98186	1.5%
325	gun	general	98138	1.5%
326	orange_eyes	general	98120	1.5%
327	cameltoe	general	97826	1.5%
328	makeup	general	97742	1.5%
329	dutch_angle	general	97696	1.5%
330	see-through	general	97621	1.5%
331	open_shirt	general	96873	1.5%
332	sideboob	general	96822	1.5%
333	two_tone_hair	general	96645	1.5%
334	from_side	general	96393	1.4%
335	hand_on_hip	general	96150	1.4%
336	bondage	general, ambiguous	95980	1.4%
337	plaid	general	95725	1.4%
338	bodysuit	general	95685	1.4%
339	fingernails	general	94529	1.4%
340	blue_sky	general	94212	1.4%
341	kneehighs	general	94146	1.4%
342	cup	general	94098	1.4%
343	bare_legs	general	93651	1.4%
344	symbol_shaped_pupils	general	93149	1.4%
345	grabbing_breasts	deprecated	92499	1.4%
346	maid_outfit	deprecated	92077	1.4%
347	red_bow	general	92031	1.4%
348	azur_lane	copyright, ambiguous	91518	1.4%
349	coat	general	91074	1.4%
350	tied_up_sexual	general	91063	1.4%
351	black_panties	general	90660	1.4%
352	maid_headdress	general	90659	1.4%

353	sheer_clothes	general	90515	1.4%
354	tattoo	general, ambiguous	90469	1.4%
355	shota	general	90436	1.4%
356	blue_skirt	general	90323	1.4%
357	book	general	89632	1.3%
358	wrist_cuffs	general	89418	1.3%
359	head_tilt	general	89366	1.3%
360	firearm	general	89250	1.3%
361	one_piece_swimsuit	general	88627	1.3%
362	love_live	copyright	88610	1.3%
363	red_ribbon	general	88458	1.3%
364	v	general, ambiguous	88383	1.3%
365	military	general	87921	1.3%
366	grey_eyes	general	87858	1.3%
367	one_arm_up	deprecated	87843	1.3%
368	puffy_short_sleeves	general	87279	1.3%
369	open_jacket	general	86736	1.3%
370	embarrassed	general	86507	1.3%
371	gray_eyes	deprecated	86249	1.3%
372	bar_censor	general	86199	1.3%
373	age_difference	general	86120	1.3%
374	yaoi	general, ambiguous	85899	1.3%
375	hug	general	85789	1.3%
376	red_neckwear	general	85673	1.3%
377	eyelashes	general	85422	1.3%
378	blood	general	85245	1.3%
379	short_shorts	general	84691	1.3%
380	photo_medium	general	84596	1.3%
381	eyebrows	general	84458	1.3%
382	breasts_out	general	84052	1.3%
383	speech_bubble	general	83451	1.3%
384	aqua_hair	general	82199	1.2%
385	shirt_lift	general	81996	1.2%
386	bare_arms	general	81952	1.2%
387	soles	general, ambiguous	81798	1.2%
388	underboob	general	81383	1.2%
389	v_shaped_eyebrows	general	81364	1.2%
390	petals	general	81286	1.2%
391	topless	general	81275	1.2%
392	sash	general	81197	1.2%
393	pokemon_creature	general	81168	1.2%
394	breasts_outside	deprecated	81108	1.2%
395	bent_over	general	80906	1.2%
396	looking_to_the_side	general	80900	1.2%
397	fur_trim	general	80636	1.2%

398	neckerchief	general	80363	1.2%
399	window	general	80348	1.2%
400	mask	general	80021	1.2%
401	fox_ears	general	79706	1.2%
402	sleeves_past_wrists	general	79698	1.2%
403	chain	general	79642	1.2%
404	ejaculation	general	79594	1.2%
405	tied_hair	general	79470	1.2%
406	headband	general	79275	1.2%
407	curvy	general, ambiguous	79116	1.2%
408	hatsune_miku	character	78975	1.2%
409	skirt_lift	general	78789	1.2%
410	sex_from_behind	general	78562	1.2%
411	double_bun	general	78491	1.2%
412	siblings	general, ambiguous	78319	1.2%
413	colored_skin	general	78280	1.2%
414	leaning_forward	general	78074	1.2%
415	character_request	metadata	77914	1.2%
416	bell	general	77767	1.2%
417	no_humans	general	77644	1.2%
418	clothing_cutout	general	77440	1.2%
419	girl_on_top	general	77410	1.2%
420	rabbit_ears	general	77297	1.2%
421	chains	deprecated	77119	1.2%
422	group_sex	general	76980	1.2%
423	fake_animal_ears	general	76932	1.2%
424	black_jacket	general	76806	1.2%
425	hololive	copyright	76601	1.2%
426	on_bed	general	75696	1.1%
427	huge_ass	general	75481	1.1%
428	sparkle	general	75141	1.1%
429	4girls	general	75123	1.1%
430	animal_ear_fluff	general	74692	1.1%
431	parted_bangs	general	74497	1.1%
432	rape	general	74320	1.1%
433	dark_skinned_female	general	74237	1.1%
434	military_uniform	general	74063	1.1%
435	straddling	general	73822	1.1%
436	pantyslot	general	73811	1.1%
437	facial	general	73551	1.1%
438	single_braid	general	73278	1.1%
439	happy	general	73126	1.1%
440	hands_up	general	73116	1.1%
441	night	general	72969	1.1%
442	english_commentary	metadata	72669	1.1%

443	back	general	72644	1.1%
444	abs	general	72617	1.1%
445	cum_on_upper_body	general	72474	1.1%
446	bed_sheet	general	72033	1.1%
447	strapless	general	72004	1.1%
448	silver_eyes	general	71831	1.1%
449	skirt_up	general	71760	1.1%
450	dress_shirt	general	71653	1.1%
451	ascot	general, ambiguous	71562	1.1%
452	headphones	general	71475	1.1%
453	hoodie	general	71426	1.1%
454	witch_hat	general	70994	1.1%
455	furry	general	70604	1.1%
456	skindentation	general	70431	1.1%
457	fruit	general	69997	1.1%
458	arms_behind_back	general	69970	1.1%
459	multiple_views	general	69923	1.1%
460	clothed_sex	general, ambiguous	69918	1.1%
461	wide_hips	general	69880	1.1%
462	streaked_hair	general	69742	1.0%
463	crop_top	general	69497	1.0%
464	sleeveless_shirt	general	69146	1.0%
465	profile	general	68622	1.0%
466	from_above	general	68620	1.0%
467	alternate_hairstyle	general	68558	1.0%
468	genshin_impact	copyright	68258	1.0%
469	garter_straps	general	68185	1.0%
470	fire_emblem	copyright	67811	1.0%
471	black_shirt	general	67666	1.0%
472	beach	general	67505	1.0%
473	3d	general, ambiguous	67460	1.0%
474	glowing	general	67208	1.0%
475	holding_hands	general	67016	1.0%
476	arm_support	general	67014	1.0%
477	paizuri	general	66981	1.0%
478	lingerie	general, ambiguous	66612	1.0%
479	looking_down	general	66450	1.0%
480	voluptuous	deprecated	66438	1.0%
481	from_below	general	66059	1.0%
482	thigh_boots	general	65830	1.0%
483	facial_hair	general, ambiguous	65745	1.0%
484	handjob	general, ambiguous	65727	1.0%
485	clothes_pull	general	65451	1.0%
486	1990s_style	general	65444	1.0%
487	black_ribbon	general	65366	1.0%

488	covered_navel	general	65294	1.0%
489	lipstick	general	65284	1.0%
490	detached_collar	general	65123	1.0%
491	depth_of_field	general	64800	1.0%
492	undressing	general	64744	1.0%
493	heart_shaped_pupils	general	64646	1.0%
494	ocean	general	64628	1.0%
495	6+girls	general	64527	1.0%
496	:3	general	64526	1.0%
497	squatting	general	64442	1.0%
498	plaid_skirt	general	64356	1.0%
499	on_side	general	64288	1.0%
500	monster_girl	general	64253	1.0%
501	capelet	general	64191	1.0%
502	side-tie_bikini	general	63953	1.0%
503	final_fantasy	copyright, ambiguous	63603	1.0%
504	fox_tail	general	63596	1.0%
505	cravat	general	63550	1.0%
506	shadow	general	63547	1.0%
507	mole_under_eye	general	63478	1.0%
508	open_track_jacket	general	63419	1.0%
509	gradient_hair	general	63372	1.0%
510	open_blazer	general	63252	1.0%
511	striped_legwear	general	63240	1.0%
512	scar	general	63232	1.0%
513	copyright_name	general	63191	1.0%
514	4koma	general	63004	0.9%
515	half-closed_eyes	general	62865	0.9%
516	sleeveless_dress	general	62453	0.9%
517	fangs	general	62319	0.9%
518	bunny_ears	general	61989	0.9%
519	hair_bun	general	61940	0.9%
520	anthro	deprecated	61886	0.9%
521	watermark	general	61699	0.9%
522	nose_blush	general	61643	0.9%
523	thigh_strap	general	61602	0.9%
524	drill_hair	general	61441	0.9%
525	sex_toy	general	61420	0.9%
526	rose	general, ambiguous	61359	0.9%
527	black_headwear	general	61337	0.9%
528	all_fours	general	61317	0.9%
529	black_bow	general	61250	0.9%
530	heterochromia	general	61043	0.9%
531	chair	general	60628	0.9%

532	cum_on_breasts	general	60492	0.9%
533	floating_hair	general	60447	0.9%
534	hand_holding	general	60194	0.9%
535	scan	metadata	60051	0.9%
536	^_^	general	60031	0.9%
537	umbrella	general	60012	0.9%
538	trembling	general	59802	0.9%
539	blue_dress	general	59404	0.9%
540	headgear	general	59379	0.9%
541	bird	general	59345	0.9%
542	hakurei_reimu	character	59263	0.9%
543	mahou_shoujo_madoka_magica	copyright	59131	0.9%
544	piercing	general	58883	0.9%
545	no_shoes	general	58790	0.9%
546	bad_twitter_id	metadata	58469	0.9%
547	thigh_gap	general	58341	0.9%
548	3boys	general	58281	0.9%
549	eyepatch	general	58182	0.9%
550	tan	general, ambiguous	58145	0.9%
551	blue_background	general	58015	0.9%
552	beret	general	57836	0.9%
553	facial_mark	general	57757	0.9%
554	panty_pull	general	57728	0.9%
555	red_skirt	general	57299	0.9%
556	traditional_media	general	57262	0.9%
557	upskirt	general	57241	0.9%
558	demon_girl	general	57111	0.9%
559	neck_ribbon	general	56614	0.9%
560	playboy_bunny	general	56595	0.9%
561	animal	general	56574	0.9%
562	low_twintails	general	56487	0.8%
563	wariza	general	56374	0.8%
564	trap	general	56372	0.8%
565	third-party_edit	metadata	56279	0.8%
566	masturbation	general	56085	0.8%
567	leg_up	general	56067	0.8%
568	mouth_hold	general	55943	0.8%
569	black_bikini	general	55819	0.8%
570	buttons	general	55541	0.8%
571	turtleneck	general	55508	0.8%
572	moon	general, ambiguous	55469	0.8%
573	parody	general, ambiguous	55406	0.8%
574	swept_bangs	general	55288	0.8%
575	playboy_bunny_leotard	deprecated	54999	0.8%
576	chinese_clothes	general	54941	0.8%

577	frown	general	54861	0.8%
578	eyes_half_closed	deprecated	54774	0.8%
579	clenched_teeth	general	54735	0.8%
580	crossover	general, ambiguous	54635	0.8%
581	looking_away	general	54410	0.8%
582	crying	general	54328	0.8%
583	on_all_fours	deprecated	54294	0.8%
584	blush_stickers	general	54264	0.8%
585	asian	general	54261	0.8%
586	cat	general	54153	0.8%
587	phone	general	54121	0.8%
588	kiss	general	53776	0.8%
589	drooling	general	53670	0.8%
590	restrained	general	53606	0.8%
591	kirisame_marisa	character	53482	0.8%
592	leaf	general, ambiguous	53472	0.8%
593	highleg	general	53458	0.8%
594	eating	general	53412	0.8%
595	bouncing_breasts	general	53275	0.8%
596	sandals	general	53208	0.8%
597	girls_und_panzer	copyright	53178	0.8%
598	magical_girl	general	53126	0.8%
599	personification	general	53092	0.8%
600	plant	general, ambiguous	52813	0.8%
601	blurry_background	general	52469	0.8%
602	stuffed_toy	general	52204	0.8%
603	breast_press	general	52137	0.8%
604	wavy_mouth	general	51993	0.8%
605	plump	general	51858	0.8%
606	female_pubic_hair	general	51721	0.8%
607	formal	general	51682	0.8%
608	futanari	general, ambiguous	51577	0.8%
609	upper_teeth	general	51253	0.8%
610	aftersex	general	51185	0.8%
611	wavy_hair	general	51058	0.8%
612	short_dress	general	50923	0.8%
613	hair_tubes	general	50894	0.8%
614	cum_in_mouth	general	50848	0.8%
615	couple	general	50779	0.8%
616	arknights	copyright	50710	0.8%
617	odd_eye	general	50706	0.8%
618	sleeping	general	50554	0.8%
619	puffy_nipples	general	50497	0.8%
620	crown	general	50455	0.8%
621	crossed_arms	general	50334	0.8%

622	transparent_background	general	50225	0.8%
623	pink_background	general	50210	0.8%
624	cleavage_cutout	general	50175	0.8%
625	child	general	50106	0.8%
626	insect	general, ambiguous	50099	0.8%
627	obi	general	49932	0.8%
628	clothed_female_nude_male	general, ambiguous	49843	0.7%
629	cumdrip	general	49752	0.7%
630	expressionless	general	49619	0.7%
631	doggystyle	general, ambiguous	49235	0.7%
632	white_bikini	general	49050	0.7%
633	table	general	49005	0.7%
634	scrunchie	general	48849	0.7%
635	w_legs	general	48816	0.7%
636	school_swimsuit	general	48802	0.7%
637	webm	metadata, ambiguous	48798	0.7%
638	white_headwear	general	48744	0.7%
639	capcom	copyright	48627	0.7%
640	tiara	general	48622	0.7%
641	tank_top	general	48499	0.7%
642	milf	general	48483	0.7%
643	licking	general, ambiguous	48413	0.7%
644	brown_footwear	general	48314	0.7%
645	red_dress	general	48187	0.7%
646	short_twintails	general	48074	0.7%
647	sunglasses	general	48048	0.7%
648	precure	copyright, ambiguous	47952	0.7%
649	happy_birthday	general, ambiguous	47932	0.7%
650	fingering	general	47932	0.7%
651	dark-skinned_male	general	47882	0.7%
652	holding_sword	general	47831	0.7%
653	backpack	general	47570	0.7%
654	halterneck	general	47262	0.7%
655	floral_print	general	47154	0.7%
656	standing_on_one_leg	general	47092	0.7%
657	katana	general	46977	0.7%
658	black_neckwear	general	46955	0.7%
659	sisters	general	46761	0.7%
660	helmet	general	46755	0.7%
661	hair_bobbles	general	46747	0.7%
662	sunlight	general	46725	0.7%
663	feet_out_of_frame	general	46668	0.7%
664	ass_grab	general	46578	0.7%

665	underwear_only	general	46561	0.7%
666	love_live_school_idol_project	copyright	46435	0.7%
667	naughty_face	general	46289	0.7%
668	romance	general	46245	0.7%
669	grass	general	46239	0.7%
670	ring	general	46194	0.7%
671	bandages	general	46091	0.7%
672	on_stomach	general	45898	0.7%
673	denim	general	45840	0.7%
674	highlights	general	45822	0.7%
675	stuffed_animal	general	45626	0.7%
676	monster	general, ambiguous	45620	0.7%
677	steam	general	45526	0.7%
678	light_brown_hair	general	45475	0.7%
679	completely_nude	general	45275	0.7%
680	bat_wings	general	44960	0.7%
681	hakama	general	44933	0.7%
682	elf	general, ambiguous	44912	0.7%
683	blue_bow	general	44777	0.7%
684	gluteal_fold	general	44724	0.7%
685	suspenders	general	44691	0.7%
686	polka_dot	general	44611	0.7%
687	cat_girl	general	44449	0.7%
688	antenna_hair	general	44355	0.7%
689	pink_panties	general	44309	0.7%
690	nature	general	44287	0.7%
691	blazer	general	44247	0.7%
692	semen_in_mouth	general	44135	0.7%
693	genderswap	general	44067	0.7%
694	bug	general	43991	0.7%
695	looking_up	general	43918	0.7%
696	fire	general	43847	0.7%
697	waving_hair	general	43669	0.7%
698	cellphone	general	43571	0.7%
699	clitoris	general	43565	0.7%
700	copyright_request	metadata	43524	0.7%
701	border	general	43436	0.7%
702	unexpressive	general	43426	0.7%
703	5girls	general	43386	0.7%
704	cardigan	general	43119	0.6%
705	frilled_dress	general	42853	0.6%
706	gundam	copyright, ambiguous	42844	0.6%
707	wolf_ears	general, ambiguous	42803	0.6%
708	suit	general	42725	0.6%

709	hair_intakes	general	42683	0.6%
710	striped_panties	general	42641	0.6%
711	cross	general	42597	0.6%
712	knee_boots	general	42407	0.6%
713	butt_crack	general	42331	0.6%
714	high_ponytail	general	42330	0.6%
715	rope	general	42288	0.6%
716	outstretched_arms	general	42145	0.6%
717	knife	general	42067	0.6%
718	white_footwear	general	41981	0.6%
719	flying_sweatdrops	general	41800	0.6%
720	remilia_scarlet	character	41717	0.6%
721	bob_cut	general	41637	0.6%
722	hip_focus	general	41613	0.6%
723	white_skirt	general	41611	0.6%
724	eyes_visible_through_hair	general	41584	0.6%
725	spread_pussy	general	41561	0.6%
726	one_piece	copyright	41555	0.6%
727	bike_shorts	general	41546	0.6%
728	bottle	general	41243	0.6%
729	clothing_aside	general	41228	0.6%
730	hat_ribbon	general	41152	0.6%
731	towel	general	41068	0.6%
732	dark_skinned_female	deprecated	40960	0.6%
733	black_pants	general	40682	0.6%
734	bandage	general	40606	0.6%
735	staff	general	40564	0.6%
736	one_side_up	general	40525	0.6%
737	younger	general	40434	0.6%
738	convenient_censoring	general	40395	0.6%
739	remodel_kantai_collection	general	40391	0.6%
740	black_choker	general	40379	0.6%
741	animal_print	general	40377	0.6%
742	lifted_by_self	general	40208	0.6%
743	pale_skin	general	40191	0.6%
744	thick_eyebrows	general	40164	0.6%
745	granblue_fantasy	copyright	39952	0.6%
746	commission	metadata	39870	0.6%
747	polearm	general	39767	0.6%
748	cowgirl_position	general	39699	0.6%
749	angry	general	39683	0.6%
750	breasts_apart	general	39546	0.6%
751	flandre_scarlet	character	39530	0.6%
752	fate/stay_night	copyright, ambiguous	39477	0.6%

753	goggles	general, ambiguous	39470	0.6%
754	revealing_clothes	general	39379	0.6%
755	veins	general	39369	0.6%
756	covering	general	39307	0.6%
757	curtains	general	39222	0.6%
758	between_breasts	general	39195	0.6%
759	thong	general	39091	0.6%
760	official_alternate_costume	general	39013	0.6%
761	naruto_(series)	copyright	38950	0.6%
762	ground_vehicle	general	38942	0.6%
763	ahegao	general, ambiguous	38875	0.6%
764	light_smile	general	38811	0.6%
765	mob_cap	general	38615	0.6%
766	spiked_hair	general	38608	0.6%
767	feathers	general	38474	0.6%
768	izayoi_sakuya	character	38207	0.6%
769	skin_tight	general	38175	0.6%
770	;d	general	38131	0.6%
771	revision	metadata	38068	0.6%
772	black_shorts	general	38029	0.6%
773	surprised	general	37996	0.6%
774	breath	general	37897	0.6%
775	legs_up	general	37707	0.6%
776	fishnets	general	37686	0.6%
777	frilled_skirt	general	37666	0.6%
778	bikini_top	deprecated	37642	0.6%
779	posterior_cleavage	deprecated	37564	0.6%
780	legs_crossed	general	37477	0.6%
781	own_hands_together	general	37463	0.6%
782	bara	general	37443	0.6%
783	wet_clothes	general	37340	0.6%
784	wing_collar	general	37335	0.6%
785	cloudy_sky	general	37281	0.6%
786	missionary	general	37276	0.6%
787	jojo_no_kimyou_na_bouken	copyright	37166	0.6%
788	source_request	metadata	37165	0.6%
789	motion_lines	general	37158	0.6%
790	spread_vagina	general	37144	0.6%
791	brown_legwear	general	37143	0.6%
792	sharp_teeth	general	37057	0.6%
793	gauntlets	general	36757	0.6%
794	cum_on_hair	general, ambiguous	36732	0.6%
795	ah_e_gao	deprecated	36656	0.6%
796	crossdressing	general, ambiguous	36480	0.5%
797	pointing	general	36471	0.5%

798	lace	general	36452	0.5%
799	slit_pupils	general	36390	0.5%
800	gen_pokemon	general	36230	0.5%
801	wristband	general	36198	0.5%
802	long_image	metadata	36137	0.5%
803	>_<	general	36036	0.5%
804	pink_bow	general	35900	0.5%
805	object_insertion	general	35731	0.5%
806	androgynous	general	35704	0.5%
807	hand_on_own_chest	general	35560	0.5%
808	bikini_top_only	general	35528	0.5%
809	x_hair_ornament	general	35350	0.5%
810	non-web_source	metadata	35302	0.5%
811	couch	general	35285	0.5%
812	arms_behind_head	general	35074	0.5%
813	lactation	general	35071	0.5%
814	outstretched_arm	general	34996	0.5%
815	no_pants	general	34990	0.5%
816	cherry_blossoms	general	34963	0.5%
817	tentacles	general, ambiguous	34895	0.5%
818	messy_hair	general	34882	0.5%
819	md_mismatch	metadata	34831	0.5%
820	wind	general	34812	0.5%
821	white_jacket	general	34689	0.5%
822	blue_shirt	general	34601	0.5%
823	size_difference	general, ambiguous	34580	0.5%
824	side-tie_panties	general	34400	0.5%
825	face	general	34396	0.5%
826	black_bra	general	34375	0.5%
827	tanline	general	34370	0.5%
828	candy	general	34273	0.5%
829	blouse	general	34116	0.5%
830	facing_viewer	general	34094	0.5%
831	instrument	general	34025	0.5%
832	torn_legwear	general	33975	0.5%
833	christmas	general	33938	0.5%
834	pectorals	general	33867	0.5%
835	areola_slip	general	33832	0.5%
836	sneakers	general, ambiguous	33791	0.5%
837	white_bow	general	33627	0.5%
838	casual	general	33620	0.5%
839	mecha	general	33591	0.5%
840	huge_filesize	metadata, ambiguous	33493	0.5%
841	hood_down	general	33459	0.5%

842	loafers	general	33449	0.5%
843	t-shirt	general	33427	0.5%
844	?	general	33386	0.5%
845	claws	general	33329	0.5%
846	head_wings	general	33280	0.5%
847	birthday	general	33275	0.5%
848	black_background	general	33262	0.5%
849	butterfly	general	33231	0.5%
850	holding_food	general	33197	0.5%
851	multiple_tails	general	33173	0.5%
852	blue_ribbon	general	33114	0.5%
853	dress_lift	general	33039	0.5%
854	maid_apron	general	32993	0.5%
855	blue_neckwear	general	32932	0.5%
856	kemono_friends	copyright	32748	0.5%
857	clenched_hand	general	32727	0.5%
858	sheath	general	32689	0.5%
859	breast_squeeze	general	32666	0.5%
860	micro_bikini	general	32624	0.5%
861	blue_jacket	general	32618	0.5%
862	pink_dress	general	32439	0.5%
863	juliet_sleeves	general	32426	0.5%
864	china_dress	general	32409	0.5%
865	building	general	32380	0.5%
866	large_areolae	general, ambiguous	32301	0.5%
867	naruto	copyright	32289	0.5%
868	crescent	general	32268	0.5%
869	semen_on_hair	deprecated	32210	0.5%
870	neon_genesis_evangelion	copyright	32199	0.5%
871	shiny_clothes	general	32186	0.5%
872	brooch	general	32178	0.5%
873	dog_ears	general	32170	0.5%
874	single_thighhigh	general	32114	0.5%
875	cum_on_lower_body	general	32103	0.5%
876	dildo	general	32090	0.5%
877	miko	general	31892	0.5%
878	jojo's_bizarre_adventure	copyright	31877	0.5%
879	tentacle	deprecated	31852	0.5%
880	multiple_penises	general	31844	0.5%
881	breast_hold	general	31790	0.5%
882	demon_tail	general	31730	0.5%
883	white_flower	general	31635	0.5%
884	happy_sex	general	31523	0.5%
885	orgasm	general	31417	0.5%
886	red_footwear	general	31290	0.5%

887	close-up	general	31254	0.5%
888	box	general	31233	0.5%
889	armband	general	31216	0.5%
890	glowing_eyes	general	31156	0.5%
891	bow_panties	general	31115	0.5%
892	persona	copyright	31053	0.5%
893	peaked_cap	general	31002	0.5%
894	corset	general	30853	0.5%
895	hands	general	30838	0.5%
896	veiny_penis	general	30829	0.5%
897	microphone	general	30759	0.5%
898	fishnet	deprecated	30713	0.5%
899	moaning	general	30703	0.5%
900	panties_aside	general	30699	0.5%
901	retro_artstyle	general, ambiguous	30662	0.5%
902	male_pubic_hair	general	30623	0.5%
903	star_(sky)	general	30608	0.5%
904	shoulder_armor	general	30606	0.5%
905	condom	general	30489	0.5%
906	cum_in_ass	general, ambiguous	30435	0.5%
907	web_address	general	30408	0.5%
908	green_skirt	general	30394	0.5%
909	^^^	general	30327	0.5%
910	halo	general	30240	0.5%
911	skirt_set	general	30217	0.5%
912	tall_image	metadata	30213	0.5%
913	bridal_gauntlets	general	30131	0.5%
914	boku_no_hero_academia	copyright	30127	0.5%
915	:p	general	30100	0.5%
916	asymmetrical_legwear	general	30061	0.5%
917	hat_bow	general	30024	0.5%
918	dog	general	30012	0.5%
919	demon_horns	general	29986	0.5%
920	twin_drills	general	29983	0.5%
921	cover	general	29943	0.5%
922	veil	general	29939	0.5%
923	card_(medium)	general	29909	0.4%
924	peeing	general	29767	0.4%
925	vibrator	general	29615	0.4%
926	red_shirt	general	29552	0.4%
927	scenery	general	29530	0.4%
928	third_eye	general	29492	0.4%
929	night_sky	general	29487	0.4%
930	garter_belt	general	29478	0.4%
931	beard	general	29447	0.4%

932	wince	general	29406	0.4%
933	red_flower	general	29344	0.4%
934	light_purple_hair	general	29332	0.4%
935	frilled_sleeves	general	29291	0.4%
936	high_heel_boots	general	29236	0.4%
937	kochiya_sanae	character	29217	0.4%
938	legs_apart	general	29183	0.4%
939	bulge	general	29170	0.4%
940	bandaid	general	29147	0.4%
941	shaded_face	general	29108	0.4%
942	baseball_cap	general	29029	0.4%
943	alice_margatroid	character	29004	0.4%
944	ribbon_trim	general	28976	0.4%
945	adapted_costume	general	28926	0.4%
946	strapless_dress	general	28890	0.4%
947	patchouli_knowledge	character	28828	0.4%
948	black_hairband	general	28788	0.4%
949	motor_vehicle	general	28756	0.4%
950	cuffs	general, ambiguous	28748	0.4%
951	front-tie_top	general	28730	0.4%
952	heavy_breathing	general	28730	0.4%
953	hand_fan	general	28717	0.4%
954	musical_note	general	28712	0.4%
955	large_penis	general, ambiguous	28595	0.4%
956	token_hat	general	28515	0.4%
957	faceless	general	28458	0.4%
958	love_live_sunshine	copyright	28330	0.4%
959	lace_trim	general	28272	0.4%
960	street_fighter	copyright	28234	0.4%
961	snow	general	28222	0.4%
962	love_live_school_idol_festival	copyright	28183	0.4%
963	k-on!	copyright	28181	0.4%
964	video	metadata	28077	0.4%
965	desk	general	28061	0.4%
966	konpaku_youmu	character	28003	0.4%
967	clothes_writing	general	27971	0.4%
968	eye_contact	general	27911	0.4%
969	admiral_(kancolle)	character	27889	0.4%
970	cirno	character	27830	0.4%
971	artoria_pendragon_all	character	27789	0.4%
972	danganronpa_(series)	copyright	27771	0.4%
973	mole_under_mouth	general	27726	0.4%
974	sitting_on_person	general	27701	0.4%
975	semi-rimless_eyewear	general	27607	0.4%
976	footwear	general	27592	0.4%

977	carrying	general	27559	0.4%
978	incest	general	27421	0.4%
979	interracial	general	27401	0.4%
980	portrait	general	27379	0.4%
981	yellow_background	general	27361	0.4%
982	santa_hat	general	27356	0.4%
983	:<	general	27309	0.4%
984	fan_(handheld)	general	27230	0.4%
985	waist_apron	general	27099	0.4%
986	dragon_ball	copyright	26938	0.4%
987	girls'_frontline	copyright	26934	0.4%
988	pointless_censoring	general	26926	0.4%
989	ear_piercing	general	26885	0.4%
990	mary_janes	general	26874	0.4%
991	dark_skinned_male	deprecated	26845	0.4%
992	yakumo_yukari	character	26834	0.4%
993	jingle_bell	general	26791	0.4%
994	femdom	general	26772	0.4%
995	gag	general	26709	0.4%
996	screenshot	metadata	26656	0.4%
997	top-down bottom_bottom-up	general	26647	0.4%
998	areolae_slip	deprecated	26622	0.4%
999	furry_female	general	26570	0.4%
1000	the_legend_of_zelda	copyright	26512	0.4%