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**Diana Sleeping after the Hunt**

Carel de Moor  
(Leiden 1655 – Warmond 1738)

1698

oil on canvas

158.4 x 145.7 cm

Signed on the stone ledge: "C De Moor" and on  
the stone in front of the ledge "Ft 1698"

CM-101



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## How to cite

Wheelock, Arthur K., Jr., and Pamela Fowler. “Diana Sleeping after the Hunt” (2024). In *The Leiden Collection Catalogue*, 4th ed. Edited by Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Elizabeth Nogrady with Caroline Van Cauwenberge. New York, 2023–. <https://theleidencollection.com/artwork/diana-sleeping-after-the-hunt/> (accessed February 24, 2026).

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Carel de Moor's name may not be widely recognized today, but during his lifetime this Leiden master was highly respected and praised for his portraits, genre scenes, and history paintings.<sup>[1]</sup> Although many of his most significant paintings have been lost, his masterpiece, *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*, has fortunately been preserved. The work's outstanding qualities offer a glimpse of why Carel de Moor (1655–1738) was held in such high esteem throughout his long and distinguished career.<sup>[2]</sup>

Arnold Houbraken (1660–1719), who befriended De Moor in the mid to late 1670s when the artist came to Dordrecht and spent time with Godefridus Schalcken (1643–1706), is the primary source for information about De Moor. According to Houbraken, De Moor demonstrated such a great love of drawing as a young man in Leiden that his father, an art dealer, sent him to learn the rules of art from the illustrious Leiden master Gerrit Dou (1613–75). Subsequently, De Moor went to Amsterdam to study with Abraham van den Tempel (1622/23–72), with whom he trained in making portraits and large-scale history paintings. Houbraken writes that after Van den Tempel's death, De Moor returned to Leiden to study with Frans van Mieris (1635–81) and then continued his training under Schalcken in Dordrecht. De Moor's decision to study with Schalcken puzzled Houbraken, who wrote that by then De Moor "already understood the art of drawing better than Schalcken, unless he only did it to copy his flattering brush [for which he is famous] in his handling."<sup>[3]</sup> Since De Moor's first signed painting is dated 1674, it is possible that the young artist worked alongside Schalcken as an established master rather than as an apprentice.

Drawing on the varied skills he acquired during his artistic training, De Moor embarked upon a career that included portraiture, genre scenes, and history paintings, the most important of which is *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*. This large and imposing canvas portrays the beautiful goddess Diana, identified by the crescent moon decorating her headband, as she sleeps while seated in a wooded glade, her faithful dog lying nestled on her lap. Diana, known as goddess of the hunt as well as goddess of the moon, is resting after a particularly successful outing. In the distant landscape, a hound and three female figures, one of whom wears a white dress and blue shawl that correspond to the goddess's outfit, chase a deer, alluding to the earlier hunt. Hanging from a tree, next to Diana's hunting horn and quiver of arrows, is the game she has slain through her unerring aim: a plump partridge; a peacock with an enormous tail of iridescent eyes that shimmer in the evening light; and a deer, its upper body splayed lifelessly on the ground nearby.

Despite the visual focus on Diana's prowess as a hunter, the mood of De Moor's large mythological scene is more sensual than triumphant. Diana's gold-trimmed, white satin garment and blue robe have fallen off her shoulders, revealing her fair skin and

## Comparative Figures



**Fig 1.** Frans van Mieris, *Woman and a Procuree (Bathsheba)*, 1671, oil on panel, 29.5 x 24 cm, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, inv. no. 1742, © Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden.



**Fig 2.** Godefridus Schalcken, *Diana and Her Nymphs in a Clearing*, ca. 1685–92, oil on canvas, 82.6 x 66.4 cm, The Leiden Collection, New York, inv. no. GS-111.



breasts. Flowers adorn her hair, while a pink rose, symbolizing love, lies on the ledge where she sits. A putto hovering above Diana aims an arrow at the famously chaste goddess, while another cherub gazes upward to witness this evocative and poignant moment that will ensure that Diana's dreams are sweetened with feelings of love.

The conception and execution of this inspired composition bring together the wide range of imagery and techniques De Moor had studied. His exquisitely detailed rendering of the peacock's tail, the partridge's feathers, and the deer's fur all reflect the refined, detailed manner of the Leiden *fijnschilders*—which he would have learned from Dou and Van Mieris. De Moor even based Diana's pose on a figure in Van Mieris's *Woman and a Procuree* (fig 1), a painting he likely copied when he was with that master.<sup>[4]</sup> The soft and flowing way De Moor rendered the fabrics in Diana's garments likely stems from his experiences in Van den Tempel's workshop. De Moor was also evidently familiar with Schalcken's expressive mythological scenes, particularly those featuring Diana in a landscape setting. For example, Schalcken's *Diana and Her Nymphs in a Clearing* in The Leiden Collection (fig 2) includes small-scale figures in the distant background (among them Diana, if one is to judge from the orange robes of one of the nymphs), much like those in De Moor's *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*. Schalcken, like De Moor, studied with Dou, who frequently inserted similar vignettes into the background of his own works.

Aside from the influence of these masters, the inspiration of Gerard de Lairesse (1641–1711), the preeminent Classicist in Amsterdam in the late 1660s and 1670s, is profoundly important for the visual power and enormous scale of *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*. De Moor would have encountered De Lairesse when he was in Amsterdam training in the studio of Van den Tempel. De Lairesse's paintings, particularly his large allegorical and mythological subjects, were highly regarded by wealthy Amsterdam merchants as well as by courtly patrons across Europe—which provided ample reason for De Moor to emulate that particular master's manner of painting. The connections between De Moor's *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt* and De Lairesse's *Selene and Endymion* from ca. 1680 (fig 3) are both thematic and visual, as in the similarity between Diana's body type and idealized facial features and those of Selene, Greek goddess of the night.

The mythological stories of Selene and Diana, respectively the Greek and Roman goddesses of the moon, and the shepherd Endymion, a virtuous mortal and symbol of timeless beauty, are closely intertwined and essentially the same. Selene, like Diana, fell in love with Endymion, and each night she came down from her chariot to watch or kiss her beloved as he slept.<sup>[5]</sup> In the Roman version of the myth, Endymion was not conscious of Diana's love and slept without ever growing a day older.<sup>[6]</sup> De Lairesse emphasized the theme of love in *Selene and Endymion* through the figure of



Fig 3. Gerard de Lairesse, *Selene and Endymion*, ca. 1680, oil on canvas, 177 x 118.5 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-4210.



Fig 4. Benedetto Gennari II, *Diana and Endymion*, 1673, oil on canvas, 177 x 225 cm, private collection.



Cupid, who not only holds a burning torch but also points to the sleeping shepherd.

As noted by Dirk Snoep, the theme of De Lairesse's painting represents a distinctive type of history painting: namely, a moralizing fable that served as an exemplar of divine virtue.<sup>[7]</sup> This myth, whether featuring Selene or Diana, was popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in European courts. De Lairesse, for example, painted *Selene and Endymion* for Mary Stuart shortly after her marriage to the Stadholder William III in 1677. The painting hung as a chimneypiece in Mary Stuart's bedroom in their country residence in Soestdijk.<sup>[8]</sup> Similarly, Benedetto Gennari (1633–1715) presented his *Diana and Endymion* (fig 4) to the English monarch Charles II in 1674, the very year that Gennari was named Court Painter. Much like De Moor's *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*, Gennari's painting includes the figure of Cupid shooting an arrow at Diana to introduce the concept of love into the pictorial narrative.<sup>[9]</sup> Depictions of Cupid shooting an arrow at Diana occur in several other renderings of *Diana and Endymion* from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>[10]</sup> This motif specifically connects De Moor's painting to the story of Diana and Endymion—the only instance in classical mythology where matters of love are associated with this famously chaste goddess.

De Moor's interpretation of the narrative is strikingly different from all other known examples: it is the only depiction of Diana as quietly asleep while Endymion is not physically present. In his entirely unique version of the mythological story, De Moor evocatively weaves associations of sleep and love into the tale of Diana and Endymion. His sole focus on Diana notably sidesteps the theme of unrequited love that is inevitable in portrayals of the goddess alongside the sleeping shepherd.<sup>[11]</sup> Similar to De Lairesse's *Selene and Endymion*, De Moor's *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt* celebrates Diana as an *exemplum virtutis* (example of virtue), which makes it likely that he painted this carefully executed and large work for an elite patron. As with De Lairesse's *Selene and Endymion*, one wonders whether De Moor's painting was likewise intended to be displayed in a bedroom.<sup>[12]</sup>

The first mention of *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt* is presumably the large painting by De Moor that appeared in an auction held in Frankfurt on January 19, 1763.<sup>[13]</sup> The description of the work ("Life-sized Diana asleep in a beautiful landscape, beautifully painted"), as well as its dimensions, are both comparable to those of the canvas now in The Leiden Collection. The probable identification of the painting in the Frankfurt auction with *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt* suggests that De Moor executed it for a German noble. Subsequent to this sale, the painting came into the possession of the important collector and former mayor of Leiden Johan van der Marck (1707–72), who also owned at least twenty-one other works by the artist.<sup>[14]</sup> De Moor's reputation waned after the eighteenth century, as is evident in the comparatively low sales price



for this work when it was auctioned in Amsterdam in 1817.<sup>[15]</sup> In the next known reference to *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*, the painting reappeared in an auction in Zurich in 2008, when it was purchased by the New York dealer Otto Naumann. The present collector acquired the work from Naumann in that year. Fortunately, despite the long gap in the painting's provenance, *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt* has been well cared for over the years, and this masterpiece has come down to us today in excellent condition.

- Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Pamela Fowler, 2024



## Endnotes

1. We would like to thank Elizabeth Nogrady and Caroline van Cauwenberge for their thoughtful comments on earlier drafts of this entry.
2. For more information about De Moor's life and career, see his biography in this catalogue. De Moor's earliest biographers, Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (Amsterdam, 1718–21; rev. ed., The Hague, 1753; reprint, 1980), 3: 342–48; Jacob Campo Weyerman, *De levens- beschryvingen der Nederlantsche konst-schilders en konst-schilderessen* (The Hague, 1729), 4: 7–8; and Johan van Gool, *De nieuwe Schouburg der Nederlantsche Kunstschilders en Schilderessen: Waer in de Levens- en Kunstbedryven der tans levende en reets overleedene Schilders, die van Houbraken, noch eenig ander Schryver, zyn aengeteekend, verhaelt worden* (The Hague, 1751), 2: 424–25, all expressed their admiration for De Moor. For example, Van Gool wrote: "dat onze Kunsthelt, by onpartydige Kenners, voor een Hoogvlieger in de Kunst te boek staet, en een der grootste Meesters is geweest, die in Nederlant gebloeit hebben" (that our Art Hero [is] a Highflyer in Art, and one of the greatest masters who flourished in the Netherlands).
3. De Moor "aangezien toemaals de Tekenkonst al vry beter verstont dan Schalken, ten ware hy het alleen gedaan hebbé om zyn vleyend penceel (waar door hy berucht is) in zyne behandeling af te zien." Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* (Amsterdam, 1721), 3: 274; translation: Hendrik J. Horn and Rieke van Leeuwen, *Houbraken Translated: Arnold Houbraken's Great Theatre of the Netherlandish Painters and Paintresses*, RKD Studies (The Hague, 2021), 3: 344, <https://houbraken-translated.rkdstudies.nl/3-300-359/page-340-349/>. For an interpretation of this passage, see Pamela Fowler and Piet Bakker, *Carel de Moor (1655–1738): His Life and Work, a Catalogue Raisonné* (Leiden, 2024), 22–23.
4. This observation was made by Pamela Fowler. In 1972, one of the six known copies made after Van Mieris's *Young Woman with a Procureess* was with Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna, and bore a De Moor signature. See Otto Naumann, *Frans van Mieris (1635–1681) the Elder* (Doornspijk, 1981), 2: 99–100.
5. The story of Selene, which is found in Ovid's *Ars Armandi*, is described in the following manner by William Sherwood Fox, *Greek and Roman Mythology* (Boston, 1928), 245: "One night Selene (the goddess of the moon, Latin, Luna) looked down from the clear heavens upon the young Endymion, the son of Aëthlios, as he was sleeping near his flocks on the slopes of Mount Latmos in Karia, and at the sight of his beauty a wave of affection rose in her heart, which her will was unable to stem. Coming down from heaven, she stooped and kissed him and then lingered near him till dawn as he slept on, repeating these visits night after night until her absences excited suspicion among her divine companions. When at length the cause of them became known, Zeus gave Endymion the choice between death and an endless sleep, and, choosing the latter, he may still be found asleep on the mountainside, visited each night by his pale lover, who keeps careful watch over his flocks."
6. In the Roman myth, the love between Diana and Endymion was never consummated. Diana was a virgin



goddess in Roman mythology, sharing attributes with both Selene and Artemis (the famously chaste Greek goddess of the hunt).

7. Dirk Snoep, in *Gods, Saints and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Albert Blankert et al. (Exh. cat. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) (Washington, D.C., 1980), 242. Snoep notes that De Lairesse's interpretation of the story is reflected in the inscription on an etching he made of the same subject, which reads: "Nil amore divino praestantius" (Nothing is more excellent than love like that of a deity).
8. Dirk Snoep, "Gerard de Lairesse als plafond-en kamerschilder," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 18 (1970): 198.
9. While it is unlikely that De Moor knew this specific example, the motif was one that was current in depictions of Diana and Endymion at that time.
10. See, in particular, Francesco Solimena, *Diana and Endymion*, ca. 1705–10 (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool).
11. Many theories exist about the implications of this mythological story of Selene/Diana and Endymion, some of which may be pertinent to De Moor's unique interpretation of the story. See, for example, those discussed by Francis H. Dowley, "The Iconography of Poussin's Painting Representing Diana and Endymion," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 305–18, <https://doi.org/10.2307/751167>. Until more is known about the circumstance in which De Moor executed this painting, these questions must remain unanswered.
12. We would like to thank Elizabeth Nogrady for this suggestion.
13. Sale, Juncker Kaller, Frankfurt, 19 January 1763, no. 5 (160 x 149.9 cm), "Diane de grandeur naturelle endormie dans un beau paysage, admirablement bien peinte," [sold for 80 ½ florins].
14. For Johan van der Marck's posthumous sale of paintings, see Amsterdam (De Winter & Yver), 25 August 1773, no. 211 [sold for 339 florins to Delfos] (Lugt 2189). In addition to De Moor's *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*, sixteen other paintings by the artist were offered for sale at this auction—five of those offered are still known, along with two others possibly from the sale.
15. The painting sold for 339 florins in the Van der Marck auction in 1773 and for 104 florins in the Anna Sautyn sale in Amsterdam in 1817. See Provenance.

## Provenance

- Possible sale, Juncker & Kaller, Frankfurt am Main, 19 January 1763, no. 5 [sold for 80 ½ florins].
- Johan van der Marck (1707–72), Leiden (his sale, De Winter & Yver, Amsterdam, 25 August 1773, no. 211 [to Delfos for 339 florins]).
- Anna Sautyn (her sale, Twisk, Amsterdam, 21 October 1817, no. 9 [to V. Ebbing for 104 florins]).



- Private collection, Lucerne, Switzerland, by 1958.
- (Sale, Koller, Zurich, 19 September 2008, no. 3050 [to Otto Naumann Ltd.].)
- [Otto Naumann Ltd., New York.]
- From whom acquired by the present owner in 2008.

## Exhibition History

- Amsterdam, Hermitage Amsterdam, *Rembrandt and His Contemporaries: History Paintings from The Leiden Collection*, 4 February–27 August 2023, no. 30 [lent by the present owner].

## References

- Van Eijnden, Roeland, and Adriaan van der Willigen. *Geschiedenis der vaderlandsche schilderkunst, sedert de helft der XVIII eeuw*. Haarlem, 1840, 4: 154.
- Lunsingh Scheurleer, Theodoor Hermann, Cornelia Willemijn Fock, and A.J. van Dissel, eds. *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht*. Vol. 2, *De Paplepel*. Leiden, 1987, 101.
- Van der Hut, Margreet. *Barend Graat (1628–1709): Zijn leven en werk*. Leiden, 2015, 156.
- Wheelock, Arthur K., Jr. “Carel de Moor, *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*.” In *Rembrandt and His Contemporaries: History Paintings from The Leiden Collection*. Edited by Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. and Caroline Van Cauwenberge, 136–37, no. 30. Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Hermitage Amsterdam. Zwolle, 2023. [Exhibition catalogue also published in Dutch.]
- Fowler, Pamela, and Piet Bakker. *Carel de Moor (1655–1738): His Life and Work, a Catalogue Raisonné*. Leiden, 2024.

## Versions

1. Barend Graat, after Carel de Moor, *Diana Sleeping after the Hunt*, n.d., medium and dimensions unknown, previously Geertje Peeman-Boomsma, Nijmegen.