This lecture will attempt to argue that what is usually called a cultural misunderstanding of biomedical disease categories may be construed as a biomedical and anthropological misunderstanding of cultural categories. This is premised on the fact that anthropology often functions as an intimate double and handmaiden of biomedicine, in so far as it refuses to countenance the possibility of theurgic aetiologies in the realm of what is called ‘mental illness’. Such a refusal displaces native explanations of divine agency to human agency. The lecture will proceed to demonstrate that while native explanations are akin to the sacraments, anthropological explanations are a form of sacramentalism. If the sacraments, like divine agency, operate ex opere operato, the sacramentals are dependent on the disposition of the recipient and the good offices of the church, as they operate ex opere operantis ecclesiae. While anthropological explanations are a form of sacramentalism, anthropologists may privately believe in the power of the sacrament. Or, to put it differently, they are good Zwinglians officially, while privately they may behave like Calvinists, Lutherans or Catholics; and sometimes even like natives.