Origins of Life
Revised Edition

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CHAPTER ONE

Illustrious Predecessors

SCHRÖDINGER AND VON NEUMANN

In February 1943, at a bleak moment in the history of mankind, the physicist Erwin Schrödinger gave a course of lectures to a mixed audience at Trinity College, Dublin. Ireland was then, as it had been in the days of Saint Columba fourteen hundred years earlier, a refuge for scholars and a nucleus of civilization beyond the reach of invading barbarians. It was one of the few places in Europe where peaceful scientific meditation was still possible. Schrödinger proudly remarks in the published version of the lectures that they were given “to an audience of about four hundred which did not substantially dwindle.” The lectures were published by the Cambridge University Press in 1944 in a little book (Schrödinger, 1944) with the title What is Life?

Schrödinger’s book is less than a hundred pages long. It was widely read and was influential in guiding the thoughts of the young people who created the new science of molecular biology in the following decade. It is clearly and simply written, with only five references to the technical literature and less than ten equations from beginning to end. It is, incidentally, a fine piece of English prose. Although Schrödinger was exiled from his native Austria to Ireland when he was over fifty, he wrote English far more beautifully than most of his English and American contemporaries. He reveals his cosmopolitan background only in the epigraphs that introduce his chapters: three are from Goethe, in German; three are from Descartes and Spinoza, in Latin; and one is from Unamuno,
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in Spanish. As a sample of his style I quote the opening sentences of his preface:

A scientist is supposed to have a complete and thorough knowledge, at first hand, of some subjects, and therefore he is usually expected not to write on any topic of which he is not a master. This is regarded as a matter of noblesse oblige. For the present purpose I beg to renounce the noblesse, if any, and to be freed of the ensuing obligation. My excuse is as follows. We have inherited from our forefathers the keen longing for unified, all-embracing knowledge. The very name given to the highest institutions of learning reminds us that from antiquity and throughout many centuries the universal aspect has been the only one to be given full credit. But the spread, both in width and depth, of the multifarious branches of knowledge during the last hundred odd years has confronted us with a queer dilemma. We feel clearly that we are only now beginning to acquire reliable material for welding together the sum-total of what is known into a whole; but, on the other hand, it has become next to impossible for a single mind fully to command more than a small specialized portion of it. I can see no other escape from this dilemma (lest our true aim be lost for ever) than that some of us should venture to embark on a synthesis of facts and theories, albeit with second-hand and incomplete knowledge of some of them, and at the risk of making fools of themselves. So much for my apology.

This apology for a physicist venturing into biology will serve for me as well as for Schrödinger, although in my case the risk of the physicist making a fool of himself may be somewhat greater.

Schrödinger's book was seminal because he knew how to ask the right questions. What is the physical structure of the molecules that are duplicated when chromosomes divide? How is the process of duplication to be understood? How do these molecules retain their individuality from generation to generation? How do they succeed in controlling the metabolism of cells? How do they create the organization that is visible in the structure and function of higher organisms? He did not answer these questions, but by asking them he set biology moving along the path that led to the epoch-making
discoveries of the subsequent forty years: to the discovery of the
double helix and the triplet code, to the precise analysis and whole-
sale synthesis of genes, and to the quantitative measurement of the
evolutionary divergence of species.

One of the great pioneers of molecular biology who was ac-
tive in 1943 and is still active today, Max Perutz, dissents sharply
from my appraisal of Schrödinger’s book (Perutz, 1989). “Sadly,”
Perutz writes, “a close study of his book and of the related litera-
ture has shown me that what was true in his book was not original,
and most of what was original was known not to be true even
when the book was written.” Perutz’s statement is well founded.
Schrödinger’s account of existing knowledge is borrowed from his
friend Max Delbrück, and his conjectured answers to the questions
that he raised were indeed mostly wrong. Schrödinger was woe-
fully ignorant of chemistry, and in his isolated situation in Ireland
he knew little about the new world of bacteriophage genetics that
Delbrück had explored after emigrating to the United States in 1937.
But Schrödinger never claimed that his ideas were original, and the
importance of his book lies in the questions that he raised rather
than in the answers that he conjectured. In spite of Perutz’s dis-
sent, Schrödinger’s book remains a classic because it asked the right
questions.

Schrödinger showed wisdom not only in the questions that he
asked but also in the questions that he did not ask. He did not ask
any questions about the origin of life. He understood that the time
was ripe in 1943 for a fundamental understanding of the physical
basis of life. He also understood that the time was not then ripe
for any fundamental understanding of life’s origin. Until the ba-
sic chemistry of living processes was clarified, one could not ask
meaningful questions about the possibility of spontaneous gener-
ation of these processes in a prebiotic environment. He wisely left
the question of origins to a later generation.

Now, half a century later, the time is ripe to ask the questions
Schrödinger avoided. We can hope to ask the right questions about
origins today because our thoughts are guided by the experimen-
tal discoveries of Manfred Eigen, Leslie Orgel, and Thomas Cech.
The questions of origin are now becoming experimentally accessible
just as the questions of structure were becoming experimentally accessible in the 1940s. Schrödinger asked the right questions about structure because his thoughts were based on the experimental discoveries of Timoféeff-Ressovsky, who exposed fruit-flies to X-rays and measured the relationship between the dose of radiation and the rate of appearance of genetic mutations. Delbrück was a friend of Timoféeff-Ressovsky and published a joint paper with him describing and interpreting the experiments (Timoféeff-Ressovsky et al., 1935). Their joint paper provided the experimental basis for Schrödinger’s questions. After 1937, when Delbrück came to America, he continued to explore the problems of structure. Delbrück hit on the bacteriophage as the ideal experimental tool, a biological system stripped of inessential complications and reduced to an almost bare genetic apparatus. The bacteriophage was for biology what the hydrogen atom was for physics. In a similar way Eigen became the chief explorer of the problems of the origin of life in the 1970s because he hit on ribonucleic acid (RNA) as the ideal experimental tool for studies of molecular evolution in the test-tube. Eigen’s RNA experiments have carried Delbrück’s bacteriophage experiments one step further: Eigen stripped the genetic apparatus completely naked, thereby enabling us to study its replication unencumbered by the baggage of structural molecules that even so rudimentary a creature as a bacteriophage carries with it.

Before discussing the experiments of Eigen, Orgel, and Cech in detail, I want to finish my argument with Schrödinger. At the risk, again, of making a fool of myself, I shall venture to say that in his discussion of the nature of life Schrödinger missed an essential point. And I feel that the same point was also missed by Manfred Eigen in his discussion of the origin of life. I hasten to add that in disagreeing with Schrödinger and Eigen I am not disputing the greatness of their contributions to biology. I am saying only that they did not ask all of the important questions.

In Schrödinger’s book we find four chapters describing in lucid detail the phenomenon of biological replication and a single chapter describing less lucidly the phenomenon of metabolism. Schrödinger finds a conceptual basis in physics both for exact replication and for metabolism. Replication is explained by the quantum mechanical
stability of molecular structures, whereas metabolism is explained by the ability of a living cell to extract negative entropy from its surroundings in accordance with the laws of thermodynamics. Schrödinger was evidently more interested in replication than in metabolism. There are two obvious reasons for his bias. First, he was, after all, one of the inventors of quantum mechanics, and it was natural for him to be primarily concerned with the biological implications of his own brainchild. Second, his thinking was based on Timoféeff-Ressovsky’s experiments, and these were biased in the same direction. The experiments measured the effects of X-rays on replication and did not attempt to observe effects on metabolism. Delbrück carried the same bias with him when he came to America. Delbrück’s new experimental system, the bacteriophage, is a purely parasitic creature in which the metabolic function has been lost and only the replicative function survives. It was indeed precisely this concentration of attention upon a rudimentary and highly specialized form of life that enabled Delbrück to do experiments exploring the physical basis of biological replication. It was necessary to find a creature without metabolism to isolate experimentally the phenomena of replication. Delbrück penetrated more deeply than his contemporaries into the mechanics of replication because he was not distracted by the problems of metabolism. Schrödinger saw the world of biology through Delbrück’s eyes. It is not surprising that Schrödinger’s view of what constitutes a living organism resembles a bacteriophage more than it resembles a bacterium or a human being. His single chapter devoted to the metabolic aspect of life appears to be an afterthought put in for the sake of completeness but not affecting the main line of his argument.

The main line of Schrödinger’s argument, which led from the facts of biological replication to the quantum mechanical structure of the gene, was brilliantly clear and fruitful. It set the style for the subsequent development of molecular biology. Neither Schrödinger himself nor the biologists who followed his lead appear to have been disturbed by the logical gap between his main argument and his discussion of metabolism. Looking back on his 1943 lectures now with the benefit of half a century of hindsight, we may wonder why he did not ask some fundamental questions that the gap might have
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suggested to him: Is life one thing or two things? Is there a logical connection between metabolism and replication? Can we imagine metabolic life without replication, or replicative life without metabolism? These questions were not asked because Schrödinger and his successors took it for granted that the replicative aspect of life is primary and the metabolic aspect secondary. As their understanding of replication became more and more triumphantly complete, their lack of understanding of metabolism was pushed into the background. In popular accounts of molecular biology as it is now taught to school children, life and replication have become practically synonymous. In modern discussions of the origin of life it is often taken for granted that the origin of life is the same thing as the origin of replication. Manfred Eigen’s view is an extreme example of this tendency. Eigen chose RNA as the working material for his experiments because he wished to study replication but was not interested in metabolism. Eigen’s theories about the origin of life are in fact theories about the origin of replication.

It is important here to make a sharp distinction between replication and reproduction. I am suggesting as a hypothesis that the earliest living creatures were able to reproduce but not to replicate. What does this mean? For a cell, to reproduce means simply to divide into two cells with the daughter cells inheriting approximately equal shares of the cellular constituents. For a molecule, to replicate means to construct a precise copy of itself by a specific chemical process. Cells can reproduce, but only molecules can replicate. In modern times, reproduction of cells is always accompanied by replication of molecules, but this need not always have been so in the past.

It is also important to say clearly what we mean when we speak of metabolism. One of my American friends, a professional molecular biologist, told me that it would never occur to him to ask the question whether metabolism might have begun before replication. For him the word metabolism means chemical processes directed by the genetic apparatus of nucleic acids. If the word has this meaning, then by definition metabolism could not have existed without a genetic apparatus to direct it. He said he was astonished when one of his German colleagues remarked that metabolism might have
come first. He asked the German how he could entertain such an illogical idea. For the German, there was nothing illogical in the idea of metabolism coming before replication, because the German word for metabolism is *Stoffwechsel*, which translates into English as “stuffchange.” It means any chemical process occurring in cells, whether directed by a genetic apparatus or not. My friend tells me that students who learn molecular biology in American universities always use the word metabolism to mean genetically directed processes. That is one reason they take it for granted that replication must come first. I therefore emphasize that in this book I am following the German and not the American usage. I mean by metabolism what the Germans mean by *Stoffwechsel* with no restriction to genetically directed processes.

Only five years after Schrödinger gave his lectures in Dublin, the logical relations between replication and metabolism were clarified by the mathematician John von Neumann (von Neumann, 1948). Von Neumann described an analogy between the functioning of living organisms and the functioning of mechanical automata. His automata were an outgrowth of his thinking about electronic computers. A von Neumann automaton had two essential components; later on, when his ideas were taken over by the computer industry, these were given the names hardware and software. Hardware processes information; software embodies information. These two components have their exact analogues in living cells; hardware is mainly protein and software is mainly nucleic acid. Protein is the essential component for metabolism. Nucleic acid is the essential component for replication. Von Neumann described precisely, in abstract terms, the logical connections between the components. For a complete self-reproducing automaton, both components are essential. Yet there is an important sense in which hardware comes logically prior to software. An automaton composed of hardware without software can exist and maintain its own metabolism. It can live independently for as long as it finds food to eat or numbers to crunch. An automaton composed of software without hardware must be an obligatory parasite. It can function only in a world already containing other automata whose hardware it can borrow. It can replicate itself only if it succeeds in finding a cooperative host.
automaton, just as a bacteriophage can replicate only if it succeeds in finding a cooperative bacterium.

In all modern forms of life, hardware functions are mainly performed by proteins and software functions by nucleic acids. But there are important exceptions to this rule. Although proteins serve only as hardware, and one kind of nucleic acid, namely deoxyribonucleic (DNA), serves mainly as software, the other kind of nucleic acid, namely RNA, occupies an intermediate position. RNA is both hardware and software. RNA occurs in modern organisms in four different forms with different functions. There is genomic RNA, constituting the entire genetic endowment of many viruses—in particular the AIDS virus. Genomic RNA is unambiguously software. There is ribosomal RNA, an essential structural component of the ribosomes that manufacture proteins. There is transfer RNA, an essential part of the machinery that brings amino acids to ribosomes to be incorporated into proteins. Ribosomal RNA and transfer RNA are unambiguously hardware. Finally, there is messenger RNA, the molecule that conveys the genetic instructions from DNA to the ribosome. It was believed until recently that messenger RNA was unambiguously software, but Thomas Cech discovered in 1982 that messenger RNA also has hardware functions (Cech, 1993). Cech observed messenger RNA molecules that he called ribozymes performing the functions of enzymes. Ribozymes catalyze the splitting and splicing of other RNA molecules. They also catalyze their own splitting and splicing, in which case they are acting as hardware and software simultaneously. RNA is a flexible and versatile molecule with many important hardware functions in addition to its primary software function. Nevertheless it remains true that the overwhelming majority of metabolic functions of modern organisms belong to proteins, and the overwhelming majority of replicative functions belong to nucleic acids.

Let me summarize the drift of my argument up to this point. Our illustrious predecessor Erwin Schrödinger gave his book the title What is Life? but neglected to ask whether the two basic functions of life, metabolism and replication, are separable or inseparable. Our illustrious predecessor John von Neumann, using the computer as a metaphor, raised the question that Schrödinger had missed and gave
it a provisional answer. Von Neumann observed that metabolism and replication, however intricately they may be linked in the biological world as it now exists, are logically separable. It is logically possible to postulate organisms that are composed of pure hardware and capable of metabolism but incapable of replication. It is also possible to postulate organisms that are composed of pure software and capable of replication but incapable of metabolism. And if the functions of life are separated in this fashion, it is to be expected that the latter type of organism will become an obligatory parasite upon the former. This logical analysis of the functions of life helps to explain and to correct the bias toward replication that is evident in Schrödinger's thinking and in the whole history of molecular biology. Organisms specializing in replication tend to be parasites, and molecular biologists prefer parasites for experimental study because parasites are structurally simpler than their hosts and better suited to quantitative manipulation. In the balance of nature there must be an opposite bias. Hosts must exist before there can be parasites. The survival of hosts is a precondition for the survival of parasites. Somebody must eat and grow to provide a home for those who only reproduce. In the world of microbiology, as in the world of human society and economics, we cannot all be parasites.

When we begin to think about the origins of life we meet again the question that Schrödinger did not ask, What do we mean by life? And we meet again von Neumann's answer, that life is not one thing but two, metabolism and replication, and that the two things are logically separable. There are accordingly two logical possibilities for life's origins. Either life began only once, with the functions of replication and metabolism already present in rudimentary form and linked together from the beginning, or life began twice, with two separate kinds of creatures, one kind capable of metabolism without exact replication and the other kind capable of replication without metabolism. If life began twice, the first beginning must have been with molecules resembling proteins, and the second beginning with molecules resembling nucleic acids. The first protein creatures might have existed independently for a long time, eating and growing and gradually evolving a more and more efficient metabolic apparatus. The nucleic acid creatures must have been
Obligatory parasites from the start, preying upon the protein creatures and using the products of protein metabolism to achieve their own replication.

The main theme of this book will be a critical examination of the second possibility, the possibility that life began twice. I call this possibility the double-origin hypothesis. It is a hypothesis, not a theory. A theory of the origin of life should describe in some detail a postulated sequence of events. The hypothesis of dual origin is compatible with many theories. It may be useful to examine the consequences of the hypothesis without committing ourselves to any particular theory.

I do not claim that the double-origin hypothesis is true, or that it is supported by any experimental evidence. Indeed my purpose is just the opposite. I would like to stimulate experimental chemists and biologists and paleontologists to find the evidence by which the hypothesis might be tested. If it can be tested and proved wrong, it will have served its purpose. We will then have a firmer foundation of fact on which to build theories of single origin. If the double-origin hypothesis can be tested and not proved wrong, we can proceed with greater confidence to build theories of double origin. The hypothesis is useful only insofar as it may suggest new experiments.

Lacking new experiments, we have no justification for believing strongly in either the single-origin or the double-origin hypothesis. I have to confess my own bias in favor of double-origin. But my bias is based only on general philosophical preconceptions, and I am well aware that the history of science is strewn with the corpses of dead theories that were in their time supported by the prevailing philosophical viewpoints. For what it is worth, I may state my philosophical bias as follows: The most striking fact we have learned about life as it now exists is the ubiquity of dual structure, the division of every organism into hardware and software components, into protein and nucleic acid. I consider dual structure to be prima facie evidence of dual origin. If we admit that the spontaneous emergence of protein structure and nucleic acid structure out of molecular chaos is unlikely, it is easier to imagine two unlikely events occurring separately over a long period than to imagine two unlikely
events occurring simultaneously. Needless to say, vague arguments of this sort, invoking probabilities we are unable to calculate quantitatively, cannot be conclusive. The main reason I am hopeful for progress in the understanding of the origin of life is that the subject is moving away from the realm of philosophical speculation and into the realm of experimental science.

**EIGEN AND ORGEL**

The third and fourth names on my list of illustrious predecessors are those of Manfred Eigen and Leslie Orgel. Unlike Schrödinger and von Neumann, they are experimenters. They are explorers of experimental approaches to the problem of the origin of life. They are, after all, chemists, and this is a job for chemists. Eigen and his colleagues in Germany did experiments that showed us biological organization originating spontaneously and evolving in a test tube (Fig. 1). More precisely, they demonstrated that a solution of nucleotide monomers will, under suitable conditions, give rise to a nucleic acid polymer molecule that replicates and mutates and competes with its progeny for survival. From a certain point of view, one might claim that these experiments already achieved the spontaneous generation of life from nonlife. They brought us at least to the point where we could ask and answer questions about the ability of nucleic acids to synthesize and organize themselves (Eigen et al., 1981). Unfortunately, the conditions in Eigen’s test tubes were not really prebiotic. To make his experiments work, Eigen put into the test tubes a polymerase enzyme, a protein catalyst extracted from a living bacteriophage. The synthesis and replication of the nucleic acid were dependent on the structural guidance provided by the enzyme. We are still far from an experimental demonstration of the appearance of biological order without the help of a biologically derived precursor. Nevertheless, Eigen provided tools with which experimenters may begin to attack the problem of origins.

Leslie Orgel, like Manfred Eigen, is an experimental chemist. He taught me most of what I know about the chemical antecedents of life. He did experiments complementary to those of Eigen. Eigen
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Figure 1  The Biebricher–Eigen–Luce experiment demonstrating evolution of RNA molecules in a test tube containing a solution of nucleotide monomers with added replicase enzyme. The four curves on the left were obtained with $10^{14}$, $10^6$, $10^3$, and 1 molecules of RNA template added to the mixture. The three curves on the right are three separate runs with no template added. (Data from Eigen et al., 1981).

was able to make RNA grow out of nucleotide monomers without having any RNA template for the monomers to copy but with a polymerase enzyme to tell the monomers what to do. Orgel did equally important experiments in the opposite direction. Orgel demonstrated that nucleotide monomers will, under certain conditions, polymerize to form RNA if they are given an RNA template to copy without any polymerase enzyme. Orgel found that zinc ions in the solution are a good catalyst for the RNA synthesis. It may not be entirely coincidental that many modern biological enzymes have zinc ions in their active sites. To summarize, Eigen made RNA using an enzyme but no template, and Orgel made RNA using a template but no enzyme. In living cells, RNA is made using both templates and enzymes. If we suppose that RNA was the original molecule with which life began, then to understand the origin of life we have to make RNA using neither a template nor an enzyme. Neither Eigen nor Orgel came close to achieving this goal.

The belief that life began with RNA, already widely accepted at the time when Eigen and Orgel were doing their experiments, received a strong boost from the discovery of ribozymes by Cech. If,
as Cech demonstrated, RNA can perform the function of an enzyme, catalyzing chemical reactions in a primitive cell, then protein enzymes might be unnecessary. Primitive cells might have carried out all the functions of metabolism and replication with RNA alone. The phrase “The RNA World” was introduced (Gilbert, 1986; Joyce, 1989) to describe the state of affairs in early times when RNA-life was evolving without the help of protein enzymes. The experiments of Eigen were extended (Wright and Joyce, 1997) to demonstrate that an RNA ribozyme in the test tube can evolve in such a way as to increase its effectiveness as a catalyst by a factor of ten thousand or more. A very feeble ribozyme evolved into a highly efficient ribozyme in an experiment lasting only five days. In another remarkable experiment (Santoro and Joyce, 1997), molecules of DNA were artificially evolved in test tubes to perform the functions of an enzyme, and the resulting DNA enzyme was even more efficient than the best RNA ribozyme. DNA is a magic molecule with extraordinary properties, and it may have many functions in the cell besides carrying genetic information. However, the experiments of Santoro and Wright and Joyce, like the experiment of Eigen, still required protein enzymes in the test tube. Without polymerase and reverse transcriptase enzymes, the experiments would not work. Ribozymes have not yet been seen to evolve in a test tube containing RNA alone.

I do not consider the existence of ribozymes to be a decisive reason to believe in the existence of an RNA world. Before the discovery of ribozymes, we already knew that RNA performs important hardware functions in addition to its software functions. The ribozyme is only one more item to add to the list of RNA hardware functions. In every one of its hardware functions, as transfer RNA, as ribosomal RNA, or as a ribozyme, RNA is working as part of a machine largely made up of proteins. When I look at the experiments of Eigen and Orgel and Wright and Joyce, I see nothing that resembles an RNA world. I see these experiments fitting more naturally into the framework of a double-origin hypothesis. According to the double-origin hypothesis, RNA was not the original molecule of life. In this hypothesis the original molecules of life were proteins, or polymers similar to proteins, and life of a sort was already...
established before RNA came into the picture. In this context the Eigen and Orgel and Wright and Joyce experiments are exploring the evolution of RNA under conditions appropriate to the second origin of life. They come close to describing a parasitic development of RNA life within an environment created by a preexisting protein life. Concerning the first origin of life, the origin of protein life and of protein metabolism, they say nothing. The origin of metabolism is the next great virgin territory waiting for experimental chemists to explore.

MARGULIS

The fifth name on my list of illustrious predecessors is that of Lynn Margulis. Although she is still very much alive and considerably younger than I am, she set the style in which I came to think about early evolution. Her style is well displayed in the popular book (Margulis and Sagan, 1995) that portrays the prodigality of life and the mysteries of its evolution in a glowing symbiosis of prose and pictures. She describes the sciences of physiology and genetics as two solid foundations of knowledge with a wide river of ignorance running between them. Because we have solid ground on the two sides, we can use our understanding of life's history and evolution to build a bridge over the river. In science a bridge is a theory. When bridges are to be built, theoretical scientists may have a useful role to play.

Lynn Margulis is one of the chief bridgebuilders in modern biology. She built a bridge between the facts of cellular anatomy and the facts of molecular genetics. Her bridge was the idea that parasitism and symbiosis were the driving forces in the evolution of cellular complexity. She did not invent this idea, but she was its most active promoter and systematizer. The idea was called “symbiogenesis” by its original author, the Russian botanist Konstantin Merezhkovsky (Merezhkovsky, 1909; Khakhina, 1992; Dyson, 1997). It remained popular in Russia but had little support outside Russia until Margulis revived it. She collected the evidence to support her view that the main internal structures of eucaryotic cells did not originate within
the cells but are descended from independent living creatures that invaded the cells from outside like carriers of an infectious disease (Margulis, 1970, 1981). The invading creatures and their hosts then gradually evolved into a relationship of mutual dependence. The erstwhile disease organism became by degrees a chronic parasite, a symbiotic partner, and finally an indispensable part of the substance of the host. This Margulis picture of early cellular evolution now has incontrovertible experimental support. The molecular structures of chloroplasts and mitochondria are found to be related more closely to alien bacteria than to the cells in which they have been incorporated for one or two billion years.

In addition, there are general philosophical reasons for believing that the Margulis picture will be valid, even in cases where it cannot be experimentally demonstrated. A living cell, to survive, must be intensely conservative. It must have a finely tuned molecular organization, and it must have efficient mechanisms for destroying promptly any molecules that depart from the overall plan. Any new structure arising within this environment must be an insult to the integrity of the cell. Almost by definition, a new structure will be a disease that the cell will do its best to resist. It is possible to imagine new structures arising internally within the cell and escaping its control like a cancer growing in a higher organism. But it is much easier to imagine new structures coming in from the outside like infectious bacteria already prepared by the rigors of independent living to defend themselves against the cell’s efforts to destroy them.

The main reason I find the two-origin hypothesis philosophically congenial is that it fits well into the general picture of evolution portrayed by Margulis. According to Margulis, most of the big steps in cellular evolution were caused by parasites. The double-origin hypothesis implies that nucleic acids were the oldest and most successful cellular parasites. It extends the scope of the Margulis picture of evolution to include not only eucaryotic cells but procaryotic cells as well. It proposes that the original living creatures were cells with a metabolic apparatus directed by enzymes (molecules similar to proteins) but with no genetic apparatus. Such cells would lack the capacity for exact replication but could grow, divide, and reproduce themselves in an approximate statistical fashion. They might
have continued to exist for millions of years, gradually diversifying and refining their metabolic pathways. Among other things, they discovered how to synthesize adenosine triphosphate (ATP), the magic molecule that serves as the principal energy-carrying intermediate in all modern cells. Cells carrying ATP were able to function more efficiently and prevailed in the Darwinian struggle for existence. In time it happened that cells were full of ATP and other related molecules such as adenosine monophosphate (AMP).

Now we observe the strange fact that the two molecules, ATP and AMP, which have almost identical chemical structures (Fig. 2), have totally different but equally essential functions in modern cells. ATP is the universal energy carrier. AMP is one of the nucleotides that make up RNA and function as bits of information in the genetic apparatus. To get from ATP to AMP, all you have to do is remove two phosphate moieties. I am proposing that the primitive cells had no genetic apparatus but were saturated with molecules like AMP as a by-product of the energy-carrying function of ATP. This was a dangerously explosive situation, and in one cell that happened to be carrying an unusually rich supply of nucleotides, an accident occurred. The nucleotides began doing the Eigen experiment of RNA synthesis three billion years before it was done by Eigen. Within the cell, with some help from preexisting enzymes, the nucleotides produced an RNA molecule, which then continued to replicate itself. In this way RNA first appeared as a parasitic disease within the cell. The first cells in which the RNA disease occurred probably became sick and died. But then, according to the Margulis scheme, some of the infected cells learned how to survive the infection. The protein-based life learned to tolerate the RNA-based life. The parasite became a symbiont. And then, very slowly over millions of years, the protein-based life learned to make use of the capacity for exact replication that the chemical structure of RNA provided. The primal symbiosis of protein-based life and parasitic RNA grew gradually into a harmonious unity, the modern genetic apparatus.

This view of RNA as the oldest and most incurable of our parasitic diseases is only a poetic fancy, not yet a serious scientific theory.
Still, it is attractive to me for several reasons. First, it is in accordance with our human experience that hardware should come before software. The modern cell is like a computer-controlled chemical factory in which proteins are hardware and nucleic acids, with the exceptions already mentioned, are software. In the evolution of machines and computers, we always developed the hardware first before we began to think about software. I find it reasonable that natural evolution should have followed the same pattern. A second argument in favor of the parasite theory of RNA comes from the chemistry of amino acids and nucleotides. It is easy to synthesize amino acids, the constituent parts of proteins, out of plausible prebiotic materials. The synthesis of amino acids from a hypothetical reducing atmosphere was demonstrated in a classic experiment by Miller in 1953. Although it is now considered unlikely that the earth ever had a reducing atmosphere, there must always have
been local environments in which reducing conditions existed. In particular, the existence of amino acids in some ancient meteorites proves that prebiotic synthesis of amino acids is possible. The nucleotides that make up nucleic acids are much more difficult to synthesize. Nucleotide bases such as adenine and guanine have been synthesized by Oró from ammonia and hydrocyanic acid. But to go from a base to a complete nucleotide is a more delicate matter. Furthermore, once formed, nucleotides are less stable than amino acids. Because of the details of the chemistry, it is much easier to imagine a droplet of water on the prebiotic earth becoming a rich soup of amino acids than to imagine a droplet becoming a rich soup of nucleotides. Charles Darwin imagined life beginning in a “warm little pond” on the surface of the earth. Recently Thomas Gold and others (Gold, 1992, 1998; Chyba and McDonald 1995) have suggested that a hot, deep environment is a more likely birthplace for life. In either case, nucleotides would be difficult to make and easy to destroy. Nucleotides would have had a better chance to accumulate and polymerize if they originated in biological processes inside the protective environment of already-existing cells.

My third reason for preferring the parasite theory of RNA is that it may be experimentally testable. If the theory is true, living cells may have existed for a long time before becoming infected with nucleic acids. There exist microfossils, traces of primitive cells, in rocks that are more than three billion years old. It is possible that some of these microfossils might come from cells older than the origin of RNA. It is possible that the microfossils may still carry evidence of the chemical nature of the ancient cells. For example, if the microfossils were found to preserve in their mineral constituents significant quantities of phosphorus, this would be strong evidence that the ancient cells already possessed something resembling a modern genetic apparatus. So far as I know, no such evidence has been found. I do not know whether the processes of fossilization would be likely to leave chemical traces of nucleic acids intact. So long as this possibility exists, we have the opportunity to test the hypothesis of a late origin of RNA by direct observation.