

The origin of life I: When and where did it begin?

PAUL DAVIES

For decades most scientists assumed that life emerged billions of years ago in a “primordial soup” somewhere on the Earth’s surface. Evidence is mounting, however, that life may have begun deep beneath the surface, perhaps near a volcanic ocean vent or even inside the hot crust itself. Since there are hints that life’s history on Earth extends back through the phase of massive cosmic bombardment, it may be that life started on Mars and came here later, perhaps inside rocks ejected from the Red Planet by large impacts. The traffic of intact rocks between Mars and Earth is now an established fact, and experiments confirm that microbes could survive the rigours of the journey through space if cocooned within such material. Unfortunately, this planetary cross-contamination compromises astrobiologists’ hope of finding a second genesis in the solar system.

Introduction

A pivotal event in the history of science took place in 1859 with the publication of Charles Darwin’s seminal work *On the Origin of Species*. Darwin gave a convincing account of how the richness, complexity and diversity of life on Earth has emerged, over billions of years, from a simpler common ancestor, through the mechanism of random variation and selection. However, Darwin pointedly left out of account any explanation of how life got started in the first place. It has to be said that, 140 years later, the problem of

the origin of life remains a deep and tantalising mystery. At its heart lies the puzzle of how nonliving chemicals can transform themselves into a truly living thing. Even the simplest bacterium is so immensely complex it strains credulity to imagine such an entity popping into existence solely as a result of the random shuffling of molecules. Yet clearly there must exist a pathway of physical processes that leads from simple chemicals to complex life; the challenge is to discover what this pathway is, and whether it is unique.

The problem of life's origin – or biogenesis – has profound ramifications for both science and philosophy. A great deal hinges on the answer. If life arose merely as a chemical fluke of stupendous improbability, then we shall be alone in the observable universe, and the entire subject of astrobiology is robbed of its central motivation. On the other hand, if life emerges more or less automatically wherever there are earthlike conditions, then the universe could be teeming with living organisms. A universe with bio-friendly laws, in which life, and perhaps consciousness, are expected and fundamental products of natural processes, is arguably more congenial for our contemplation than one in which life on Earth is merely an incidental chemical quirk in a vast cosmos of pervasive sterility. In short, the search for the origin of life is a search for ourselves – who we are and what our place is in the great cosmic scheme of things.

It is convenient to divide the problem of biogenesis into three linked questions: when, where and how? Paleobiologists are close to determining when life became established on Earth. Theories of where life started have recently undergone some dramatic changes.

Indeed, it is by no means certain that life even began on Earth; it could for example have started on Mars and come to Earth later.

The question of *how* life began remains the least tractable, although there is no shortage of theories and some considerable quantity of experimental data. I shall address the three questions in turn. In this paper I consider when and where life started, and defer a discussion of how to paper II.

First, however, an important general point must be made. How do we know that life on Earth derives from a single originating event? Could the extraordinary variety of organisms on our planet be evidence for multiple episodes of biogenesis? The answer seems to be no. Biologists have found that all known life on Earth is inter-related. For example, organisms share a common chemical scheme, in which genetic information is stored in nucleic acids (DNA or RNA), proteins are used as enzymes and structural material, and are manufactured by little molecular factories called ribosomes, and so on. Significantly, all life on Earth shares a common genetic code. A typical gene (a specific sequence of DNA base pairs) will be a set of instructions for the manufacture of a protein, written in a four-letter alphabet (DNA is made up of four different chemical bases). On the other hand, proteins are made out of chemical building blocks called amino acids, of which terrestrial life uses twenty different varieties. To make the right protein, the gene must instruct the ribosome to link together a specific sequence of different amino acids in exactly the right order to form a long chain. To translate the instructions from the DNA into “protein language” entails a mathematical code that maps

4 into 20. Life does this by batching the DNA bases into triplets, which can have $4^3 = 64$ combinations. That way there are enough permutations to specify each of the 20 amino acids, with some left over for stop commands and redundancy. (For a detailed review, see ref. 1.)

The fact that all terrestrial life uses the same chemical scheme and the same genetic code (with some very minor variations) strongly suggests that all known organisms have descended from a common ancestor in which these complex features were already established. The probability of a system of such extraordinary complexity and specificity arising independently along parallel evolutionary paths seems infinitesimal. Note, however, that I refer to “all known organisms”. Although it is unlikely, it is not inconceivable that one day we shall discover life in an obscure niche on Earth that uses a different code or even a completely different chemical scheme. If so, these organisms might represent the descendants of a second, independent, genesis. I discuss some speculations along these lines in a later section.

It is important to realise that the last common ancestor of life on Earth is not necessarily the same as the first living thing. To understand this, it is helpful to use Darwin’s metaphor of the tree of life, in which, from a simple originating “trunk,” new species have arisen by branching and re-branching over time. Extant life is represented by the twiglets at the top of the tree. By tracing back from two extant organisms, their last common ancestor will be encountered at the point where the branches meet. Taking all life on Earth today, we can imagine following the myriad branches right back to a deep

common branching point – the universal ancestor organism. But this branching point may not lie on the central trunk of the tree. There may have existed earlier branches of the tree of life that became dead ends, i.e. have no surviving descendants today (see Fig. 1). Indeed, from the foregoing it will be clear that the universal ancestor must have already been an immensely complicated and sophisticated organism. There was surely a long period of prior evolution leading up to it. Pushing the tree analogy to the extreme, we can identify the origin of life with the single stem (or trunk, or root) from which all the subsequent branches sprang. Taking this literally implies that all life would have descended from a single microbial Adam. However, this interpretation is over-simplistic. Microbiologists know that genes can be transferred laterally between organisms, and this can blur the unique association of species with tree branches. In the ancient, primitive microbial realm, about which almost nothing is known, the tidy compartmentalisation into different competing species may have broken down. All we can really say with confidence is that all life on Earth has descended from a community of genetically promiscuous closely inter-related microbes.

When did life start on Earth?

By tracing back the fossil record, geologists can set a lower limit on the duration of terrestrial life. The oldest unambiguously identifiable fossil organisms are found in Western Australia, and date from about 3.5 billion years ago². These were single-celled organisms resembling modern cyanobacteria, a photosynthesising microbe. Since photosynthesis is a complex process that must have taken some time to evolve, it is likely

that life started some considerable time before. Unfortunately geological material much older than this is hard to find. In Greenland, sedimentary rocks with a minimum age of 3.85 billion years contain traces of carbon with altered isotope ratios that might be indicative of ancient biological activity³. If that interpretation is correct, it pushes back the epoch of terrestrial life to something approaching 4 billion years.

This early date for life on Earth has become something of a problem for astrobiologists. The solar system formed about 4.5 billion years ago from a swirling cloud of gas and dust. For about 700 million years the planets were pounded by debris as the primordial material aggregated into larger bodies. The record of this early heavy bombardment is conspicuous in the lunar cratering. Because Earth is larger than the moon, it would have taken many more big hits, but a combination of tectonic activity and erosion has obliterated all but the relatively recent impact craters. Even so, it is now recognised that bombardment of the Earth by asteroids and comets has continued throughout geological history and has also played an important role in shaping evolutionary history⁴ (for example, by possibly destroying the dinosaurs).

Taking the lunar statistics as a guide, it has been estimated that Earth would have suffered dozens of impacts by bodies with diameters several hundred kilometres or more until about 3.8 billion years ago, when the ferocity of the bombardment began to abate. The effects of such major cataclysms have been studied by Sleep et.al.⁵ An impactor 500 km in diameter would strip away much of the atmosphere and replace it with a blanket of incandescent rock vapour at a temperature of 3000°C. Swathing the planet, this global

furnace would boil the oceans, creating a thick layer of superheated steam that would last for months before raining out. Hostile conditions would persist for about ten thousand years. The exposed surface of the Earth would be thoroughly sterilised, and a lethal heat pulse would travel about a kilometre into the Earth's crust.

If the Greenland results are to be believed, life's provenance on Earth extends back through the period of heavy bombardment, which raises the difficult question of how any living organism could have survived the global catastrophes of the larger impacts. One possible answer is that there were refuges in which life was protected from the worst effects. This leads naturally to the question of where life began.

Where did life begin?

First we must distinguish the location of the earliest established microbial colonies on Earth from the whereabouts of life's ultimate origin. Let me suppose for the moment that life started somewhere on Earth. Although Darwin was coy about the origin of life, he famously speculated in a letter to a friend⁶ about a "warm little pond" in which all manner of chemical substances might accumulate over time. Then, driven by the energy of sunlight, ever more complex molecules might arise until a primitive life form accidentally emerged. This casual suggestion was later to form the model of the so-called "primordial soup," to which I shall return in paper II.

Given the mayhem caused by the cosmic bombardment, a warm little pond now seems a rather hazardous setting for elaborate, delicate and presumably time-consuming chemical processes to take place. In recent years many alternative locations have been proposed. The one that seems increasingly plausible and most consistent with Earth's violent early history is the deep subsurface.

In 1977 the submersible vessel *Alvin* discovered the existence of complex ecosystems kilometres deep on the floor of the Pacific Ocean, clustered around volcanic vents⁷. Some vents are termed black smokers on account of the dusky superheated fluids that spew from the seabed to form tall, blackened chimneys. The temperature of the emerging liquid can be as high as 350°C, but it does not boil on account of the immense pressure at that depth. Clustering around such vents are crabs and giant tube worms that have presumably invaded these niches from above, and adapted to the harsh conditions.

Because it is dark at these depths, photosynthesis is impossible, and the question arises of the energy source that sustains the ecosystems. The primary producers turn out to be microbes that inhabit the regions closest to the vents. They belong to the class of organisms known as chemotrophs, that exploit chemical and thermal energy rather than sunlight. Some chemotrophs are capable of turning minerals and gas directly into biomass. It came as a complete surprise that the hardiest of these microbes thrive in temperatures above 100°C. The official record is 113°C, although there are reports of still higher temperatures⁸. The name hyperthermophile is given to these extreme heat-loving microbes. Prior to the discovery of black smokers, the highest temperature life forms

known were bacteria that inhabit hot surface springs, such as those in the Yellowstone National Park, typically at temperatures in the range 80-90°C. These were classified as “thermophiles.” The fact that life can withstand temperatures in excess of the normal boiling point of water is remarkable. Indeed, many hyperthermophiles not only survive such torrid conditions, they actually require them to metabolise normally.

It turned out that black smokers were only the tip of a very large iceberg. The Ocean Drilling Programme has for some years been extracting rock cores from the seabed to depths approaching 1 km. These rocks samples are also found to contain microbes in prolific abundance to the depth limit of the cores. For example, by counting using an optical microscope, Parkes has estimated microbial densities as high as 10^9 per cubic centimetre in some samples⁹. Because the temperature rises with depth, the organisms that inhabit the deep subsurface zone are either thermophiles or hyperthermophiles. At the time of writing, no clear limit to the habitable zone has been discerned, but presumably the combined effects of rising temperatures and decreasing rock pore sizes would prevent even small hyperthermophilic micro-organisms from living below a depth of about 5 km.

The abundance of subsurface life beneath the seabed is matched by similar discoveries on land. In the 1980s, Gold obtained evidence for living organisms at depths of several kilometres from an oil-drilling project through solid granite in Sweden. This work resulted in a trail-blazing paper¹⁰ entitled “The Deep Hot Biosphere.” Because of the sensational nature of the claim, however, Gold’s work was greeted with much scepticism.

But within a few years, other drilling projects, particularly in the Columbia River basin in the United States, have confirmed that live microbes are indeed found in abundance kilometres below ground¹¹. Gold has estimated that if microbial life has extended across the planet in the subsurface zone, the total hidden biomass might rival that of surface life.

The existence of life far beneath the Earth's surface suggests the hypothesis that life began in a deep subsurface setting, where it would be afforded some protection from the heavy bombardment. Organisms that dwelt more than a kilometre into the crust would have escaped the heat pulses from the rock vapour atmospheres created by even the biggest impactors in the period 4 – 3.8 billion years ago, so long as they were well away from ground zero. Because temperature increases with depth, and because the Earth's crust was hotter 4 billion years ago (the planets were still cooling from their formation), only hyperthermophilic organisms would have been candidates for inhabiting such refuges in the deep subsurface. Therefore, confirmation of this hypothesis would come if we could establish that the most ancient life was hyperthermophilic.

Fossil microbes from black smokers dated at 3.26 billion years have been discovered¹², but direct evidence of hyperthermophiles at earlier epochs is not yet forthcoming. There is, however, some highly compelling indirect evidence in the form of genetic sequencing. Techniques developed by Norman Pace and his co-workers^{13,14} enable sequences of rRNA (ribosomal RNA) to be determined from field samples of organisms without the need to culture them in the laboratory (which is so far impossible for the vast majority of deep-living microbes). Consequently it has been possible to position the

hyperthermophiles and thermophiles on the tree of life. The results¹⁵ are shown in Fig. 2. Here the lengths of the branches represent the genetic distances between organisms.

The first striking feature is that life is divided into three major kingdoms. The one termed *eucarya* consists of all multicellular organisms (including humans) and complex single-celled organisms with nuclei, such as the amoeba. The second kingdom incorporates the bacteria. The surprise is the third kingdom, *archaea*, consisting of microbes without nuclei that superficially resemble bacteria, but genetically are as different from them as they are from us. It is still unclear which of these kingdoms branched from which first, and exactly when those branchings occurred, but it is tempting to suppose that archaea came first, and then diversified into bacteria followed by eucarya.

Of more significance here are the bold lines in the diagram. These represent the hyperthermophiles. It is clear that they dominate all the lowest and deepest branches of the tree of life. Most of them are archaea. That means hyperthermophiles are in some sense the most ancient organisms on Earth today, having evolved the least over the past 3.5 billion years. We might think of them as living fossils. If this interpretation is correct, it implies that the earliest organisms on Earth were likely to have been hyperthermophiles, probably living deep in the hot crust, or clustered around black smokers in ancient oceans. This evidence therefore supports the hypothesis that the earliest life dwelt in the relatively safe hot zone deep below the surface and came up only when the cosmic bombardment diminished.

Although there is circumstantial evidence that early life on Earth was located in the subsurface, we cannot be sure that life actually started there. It may have begun on the surface and migrated into the subsurface, adapting to the hotter conditions on the way. The next big impact would then have wiped out the surface and near-surface organisms, creating a genetic bottleneck through which only hyperthermophilic subsurface life squeezed. All life on Earth today might then be descended from these subsurface survivors, some progeny of which returned to the surface at a later, safer, stage. Indeed, if life emerges readily, it may be that it started many times on Earth during quiescent phases, only to be totally destroyed by subsequent impacts, again and again^{5,16}.

It is also not inconceivable that descendants of an earlier genesis than ours might have survived deep underground, yet to be discovered, or may even exist right under our noses, unrecognised for what they are. Intriguingly, there are claims¹⁷ that ultra-small entities, variously termed nannobacteria or nanobes, might represent an exotic terrestrial life form. These are objects found in rocks¹⁸ and even human blood¹⁹, with a size of about 100 *nm*, about a tenth that of the smallest known bacteria. (This is comparable to the tiny features in the Martian meteorite ALH 84001, said by some NASA scientists to be fossilised microbes – see below.) At the time of writing, these claims remain highly controversial, not least because the objects appear to be too small to contain the minimal biochemical machinery to function as autonomous living cells.

The same big impacts that imperilled early life also blasted copious quantities of material into space. Much of the ejecta, in the form of rocky debris, would have gone into orbit

around the sun. Some of the rocks would have returned to Earth eventually, perhaps after a sojourn of millions of years in space. It is possible that following a major impact cataclysm, with its attendant sterilising rock vapour atmosphere, terrestrial microbes inhabiting ejected rocks survived their time in space and were returned to Earth at a later stage, when conditions were more favourable. Thus outer space, as well as the deep subsurface, offers another possible refuge from the early bombardment.

At first sight, it seems unlikely that any life would survive being propelled off the surface of a planet and then being exposed to space conditions for an extended duration, but recent research has shown that the hazards are actually not too serious. The physics of impact ejection has been studied by Melosh²⁰. The impactor itself mostly vaporises on contact with the surface. The explosion sends out a shock wave into the surrounding rock strata. The strata beneath the impact site are strongly compressed and shock heated to lethal temperatures, but on the periphery, the surface rock cannot be compressed (atmospheric pressure is negligible), and so the shock wave simply accelerates the material skywards, relatively uncompressed and unheated. The crater thus forms by excavation of unshocked or lightly shocked material. Microbes in the rock would therefore not be automatically killed by shock heating. Of course the impulse is still enormous, but experiments with centrifuges and artillery shells have shown that terrestrial microbes can easily withstand the accelerations needed to propel a rock into orbit²¹. Moreover, analysis of the Martian meteorite ALH84001 shows it was not shock-heated to lethal temperatures when displaced from Mars²².

Once in space a microbe faces radiation hazards from solar ultra-violet, solar flares and cosmic rays. The vacuum and the cold of outer space do not present a problem; indeed, freeze-drying bacteria is an excellent way to preserve them. The deadliest hazard is ultra-violet radiation, but this is easily screened by a thin layer of material. Cocooned deep within a rock of some metres diameter, microbes would be safe from ultra-violet, solar flares and most background cosmic radiation. There would still be a danger from the highest energy cosmic rays, and from the radioactivity indigenous to the rock itself. Microbes do not metabolise under freeze-dried conditions, but go into a dormant state, in some cases forming tough spore-like structures, which are known to have extraordinary resilience and endurance powers. For example, it has recently been claimed that bacteria have remained viable having been entombed in salt crystals for as long as 250 million years²³. Dormant bacteria cannot repair DNA damage, so their longevity is limited by the inevitable degradation due to residual radiation and thermal disruption of the nucleic acid structure. Melosh and his colleagues have studied the durability of some highly radiation resistant bacteria inside a rock in space, and assigned lifetimes of up to millions of years in the case of larger rocks²⁴.

If microbes can safely hitch a ride inside rocks ejected from Earth, it seems inevitable that some of this fecund material will have reached Mars with a cargo of viable terrestrial microbes. Since the journey time to Mars on a favourable orbit might be only months or years, microbes clearly have the survival capability of making the journey. Recent surveys of Mars have shown that it was warm and wet, and not unlike the Earth, before about 3.5 billion years ago. Mars has abundant water, and also many large volcanoes,

opening up the prospect for hydrothermal systems there similar to black smokers²⁵. If microbes from a hot subsurface setting on Earth were ejected by an impact and reached Mars, and then fell into an ocean near a volcanic vent, conditions would have seemed very much like home.

Because the bombardment was so intense at this early epoch, there would have been a prolific traffic of terrestrial material to Mars, a fraction of it laden with viable micro-organisms. Mileikowsky et. al.²⁴ have estimated that at least 10^8 terrestrial rocks 1 m or more in diameter that avoided shock heating to $> 100^\circ\text{C}$ reached Mars during the early heavy bombardment phase. Some of this material would have burned up on entry into Mars' atmosphere, but a significant portion would have reached the surface unscathed. Over hundreds of millions of years it seems highly likely that transfers of viable organisms took place from ecosystems on Earth to similar ones on Mars. We must therefore conclude that Mars and Earth are not biologically isolated, and that cross-contamination of the two planets has occurred throughout history.

Did life come from Mars?

If Earth rocks can convey terrestrial microbes to Mars, can the reverse also happen?

Could putative Martian organisms come to Earth inside Mars rocks ejected by impacts?

There are currently 15 meteorites on Earth positively identified as of Martian origin. One of these, ALH 84001, found in Antarctica in 1984, was the subject of controversy when NASA scientists claimed to have identified fossilised micro-organisms inside²⁶.

Subsequent work has cast serious doubt on this claim. Nevertheless, the episode did serve to focus attention on the possibility that evidence for life on Mars, and perhaps even viable Martian microbes, might come here inside rocks ejected from Mars by large impacts.

It is more probable for Mars rocks to come to Earth than vice versa because the smaller surface gravity of Mars makes it easier for material to escape. Mileikowsky et. al.²⁴ have estimated that 10^{12} tonnes of Martian material capable of transporting viable organisms have reached Earth in the last 4 billion years. It therefore seems likely that if ever there was life on Mars in the form of subsurface microbes dwelling within porous rocks, as is the case on Earth, then they will have been conveyed to Earth inside Martian ejecta.

Computer modelling²⁷ of the orbital characteristics of ejected Mars rocks indicates that about 7.5 per cent eventually hit Earth, one-third within 10 million years – brief enough for hardy terrestrial microbes to survive space conditions. In any case, some fraction of this prolific traffic of rocks will reach Earth on a much shorter time scale. So if Martian organisms resemble terrestrial microbes, there is a good chance that some will have reached Earth still alive.

There is of course the final hazard of surviving the intense heating that would accompany high-speed entry into the Earth's atmosphere. Many meteorites burn up completely, but if the trajectory is suitable, they may reach the ground intact. Heating will ablate the surface, but the deceleration time is so short that little heat penetrates to the interior. Any micro-organisms deep within a meteorite would be unaffected.

The possibility therefore arises that life may have begun on Mars and come to Earth later. Mars was a more favourable planet for life in the early phase of the solar system. Being smaller than Earth, it cooled quicker, so the comfort zone for deep-living organisms was deeper sooner, providing an earlier refuge from the bombardment. Earth became safe for life only when the crust deeper than a kilometre cooled below about 120°C, enabling hyperthermophiles to take up residence far enough down to escape the sterilizing heat pulses from the big impacts. On Earth, these conditions may not have occurred until about 4.0 billion years ago, whereas Mars may have reached that stage as early as 4.3 billion years ago.

Another factor favouring Mars as an early abode for life is the lower degree of violence it suffered from impacts. In particular, Mars escaped the really huge impact that created the Earth's moon about 4.5 billion years ago. Being a smaller target, it also took fewer hits. Also, as pointed out by Sleep et. al.²⁸, Mars lacked a global ocean, unlike Earth, so the sterilizing scenario of a superheated steam and rock vapour atmosphere enveloping the planet was less likely. Finally, because of the lower surface gravity of Mars, ejection into solar orbit is less violent, making it easier for microbes to escape to space as a refuge from the aftermath of big impacts, enabling Mars to be repeatedly recolonised, as fecund debris returned to the planet after conditions had improved.

For these various reasons, it may be that life got going on Mars, say, 4.3 billion years ago, and over a period of several hundred million years a steady rain of microbe-laden

Martian debris fell on Earth. However, because of the uncongenial nature of our planet at that early time, these transferred organisms did not flourish, at least for long. But when conditions settled down, perhaps 3.9 billion years ago, widespread colonization would have been possible.

How likely is it then that we are all descended from Martians? The case is by no means a compelling one, since we have very little idea about the precise setting in which life originated. If it was a hydrothermal system, as I have hypothesized was the most likely, then Mars was probably the better planet. But whatever is the case, it now seems certain that Earth and Mars have been able to cross-contaminate each other. If for no other reason than it got there from Earth, there must have been life on Mars at some stage, even if it failed to thrive there for long. Because conditions on Mars resembled those on Earth at a time there was certainly life here (about 3.6 billion years ago), it seems probable that any terrestrial organisms reaching Mars alive during that planet's warm, wet phase would have been able to flourish, at least until the atmosphere thinned and the temperature plunged, after about 3.5 billion years ago.

Could there still be life on Mars? Today the surface of the planet is a frozen, desiccated desert bathed in ultra-violet radiation, with a very low atmospheric pressure and highly oxidising topsoil. Liquid water, though it clearly does flow on the surface from time to time, is likely to be found only deep underground, where volcanic heating may have melted the permafrost to create briny reservoirs. These could possibly harbour

chemotrophic microbes of the sort that make a living deep inside the Earth's crust.

However, this possibility remains something of a long shot.

If one day we do obtain unambiguous evidence for past, or even present, life on Mars – such as from the rocks brought back by the forthcoming sample return mission²⁹ – then it is likely that Martian life will turn out to be just a branch on the same tree of life as ourselves, either because life began on Mars and came to Earth, or vice versa. This would be a pity, because it would fail to answer the key question of whether life is simply a chemical fluke that has happened once, or an expected and automatic product of bio-friendly physical laws. Philosophically, the most exciting upshot of astrobiology would be the discovery of a second genesis, that is, another sample of life stemming from an independent origin.

The rocky transport of microbes between planets is important for near-neighbours, but could it propagate life farther afield? Europa, a moon of Jupiter, may have a global ocean of liquid water trapped beneath a crust of ice. Volcanic vents on the sea floor could create black smoker type conditions and thus provide a habitat for life. It is improbable (but not impossible) that Europa and Earth/Mars have contaminated each other, given the greater distances involved. So perhaps Europa offers the best hope within the solar system of finding a second genesis. When it comes to earthlike planets in other star systems, there is negligible chance of contamination by rocky transportation: the probability of a rock blasted off Earth ever hitting an earthlike planet in another star system is infinitesimal.

Before leaving this topic, however, mention must be made of the so-called panspermia hypothesis, formulated scientifically by Svante Arrhenius³⁰ almost a century ago, and revived in recent years by Fred Hoyle and Chandra Wickramasinghe³¹. The basic scenario is that individual microbes are small enough to be propelled across the galaxy at high speed under the effect of the pressure of light from the parent star. Arrhenius envisaged the galaxy seething with viable microbes journeying through space. When a microbe encounters a suitable planet, he supposed, it might colonize it. In this way life could arise from a unique genesis event, and subsequently spread across the entire universe. The location and manner of life's ultimate origin are sidestepped in the panspermia theory, so it is not so much a theory about the origin of life as about its dissemination.

Today we are more aware of the radiation risks of outer space, and it seems very unlikely to this author that a naked microbe, exposed to the ultra-violet of the sun and other forms of radiation, would survive for very long – certainly not for the millions of years needed to reach another star system. It is possible to imagine more complicated scenarios, for example, in which life takes refuge (or is incubated) within comets. Perhaps a life-bearing comet eventually becomes incorporated in the formation of a new planetary system, whereupon its microbial cargo is spewed forth into interplanetary space as the comet evaporates. But such astronomical Just-So stories require long chains of coincidence. Whilst it would be foolish to rule out the possibility that life might from time to time jump between nearby star systems due to a favourable concatenation of

events, the case for a systematic spread of life through interstellar (let alone intergalactic) space by such mechanisms looks very shaky.

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Figure captions

1. The tree of life, greatly simplified. The trunk of the tree represents the first living thing. The present day corresponds to the top branches of the tree, among which human beings are found. The universal ancestor of extant life is located at the last fork in the tree that connects to all the topmost branches. Branches below this fork correspond to organisms that have left no surviving descendants. The diagram as drawn greatly exaggerates the number of extant versus extinct species.
2. Living fossils. This portion of the tree of life depicts how far various species have separated genetically from each other. The lengths of the branches are proportional to the amount of genetic drift. The bold lines indicate heat-loving microbes (hyperthermophiles). Clearly the least evolved species, occupying the shortest and deepest branches of the tree, are all hyperthermophiles.

The Origin of Life II: How did it begin?

PAUL DAVIES

The problem of how a mixture of chemicals can spontaneously transform themselves into even a simple living organism remains one of the great outstanding challenges to science. Various primordial soup theories have been proposed in which chemical self-organization brings about the required level of complexity. Major conceptual obstacles remain, however, such as the emergence of the genetic code, and the “chicken-and-egg” problem concerning which came first: nucleic acids or proteins. Currently fashionable is the so-called RNA world theory, which casts RNA in the role of both chicken and egg. Other theories assume that protein chemistry and even clay crystal life came before nucleic acids. To be fully successful, a theory of biogenesis has to explain not merely the emergence of molecular replication and chemical complexity, but the crucial information content and information processing capabilities of the living cell.

Introduction

In paper I, I considered recent developments in the problem of when and where life began. I argued that a favourable setting was the deep subsurface on either Earth or Mars, some 4 billion years ago, with Mars being somewhat favoured. However, I said almost nothing about what actually took place to bring life into being. In this paper I shall

discuss the problem of how life originated, which remains one of the great outstanding challenges to science.

The central difficulty is easy to grasp. How can undirected physical forces produce a state of such immense complexity and specificity as a living organism? The simplest autonomous organisms contain millions of large specialised molecules. The living cell consists of an elaborate web of inter-dependent chemical substances, many of which aren't found anywhere except in living systems. If we want to understand how life came to exist from nonliving substances, we cannot appeal to the prior existence of molecules that are only created by life.

In the nineteenth century it was widely supposed that life was some sort of “magic matter,” often called protoplasm, and that the formation of life resembled baking a cake – a question of mixing the right ingredients in the right proportions and the right order.

Today we know that the cell is made of perfectly ordinary substances, the essential elements being carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, phosphorus, and sulphur, although the term “organic chemistry” remains as a hang-over from the time when it was believed that life obeyed different physical laws from inanimate matter.

The revolution in the biological sciences, particularly in molecular biology and genetics, has revealed not only that the cell is far more complex than hitherto supposed, but that the secret of the cell lies not so much with its ingredients as with its extraordinary information storing and processing abilities. In effect, the cell is less magic matter, more

supercomputer. In paper I, I mentioned the genetic code as one example of the computational prowess of the cell. Life performs its amazing feats not because of a special form of chemistry, but because organisms can harness chemical processes and subordinate them to an agenda encoded in DNA. So any successful theory of biogenesis has to account not only for the stuff of life – the myriad customised molecules that are vital to its operation – but also for its informational aspects.

The living cell is so complex that it clearly didn't spring into being all in one go, as a result of a single amazing chemical reaction. There must have been a long sequence of physical processes leading up to the first microbe. There seem to be three distinct aspects of life that must be explained on the way: reproduction, metabolism and cellular structure. Organisms must be able to replicate, i.e. pass on genetic information. But without metabolism, they wouldn't be able to do anything (including replicate). And because Darwinian evolution depends on a competition between individuals, it is hard to see how life could evolve without cells. But researchers cannot even agree on the sequence of these major features. Some argue that cellular structures formed first, others that the road to life started with self-replicating molecules, and yet others that complex energy-harnessing chemical cycles preceded both.

The role of chance

Given that the origin of life occurred a long time ago and may have been a unique event, we may never know for sure what actually happened. Even if we could make some sort

of life in the laboratory, we may be left in the dark about the precise historical sequence of events that caused it to happen in nature. Even so, it may still be possible to answer the most pressing question: Is life very likely or very unlikely, given suitable conditions? Jacques Monod¹ has stressed that physical systems are shaped by two factors – chance and law (or ‘necessity’ as he called it). The origin of life lies somewhere on a line between pure chance and pure law, but where exactly?

To clarify this point, compare the formation of salt crystals, clouds and snowflakes. The structure of salt crystals is more or less completely determined by the laws of physics (specifically their geometrical symmetries). Given an appropriate solution, the formation of a specific crystalline structure is assured and inevitable. By contrast, the structure of a cloud is almost all at the mercy of chance. You would be hard-pressed to predict the shape or even the moment of formation of a specific cloud from knowledge of climatic conditions and the laws of fluid mechanics. In between these extremes lies the example of the snowflake. Its general hexagonal symmetry is a consequence of the laws of physics, but the specific filigree structure is a result of happenstance. So is biogenesis like crystallisation – inevitable once the right substances and conditions are present? Or is it analogous to the snowflake, where the central features of life are written into the laws of physics, but some fortuitous circumstances are needed to make it actually happen? Or might it be a stupendous fluke, a result of pure chance, like shuffling a pack of cards into suit and numerical order by sheer luck?

Among the experts opinions differ greatly. Sidney Fox² argued that life is built into the basic laws of physics and chemistry, so that its emergence is in some sense pre-ordained, and resembles crystallisation. By contrast, Monod¹ believed that the laws of nature are not in the least bio-friendly, and that life formed by blind chance alone - a chemical fluke unique in the universe. Christian de Duve³ considers that life is a “cosmic imperative,” more or less bound to occur under earthlike conditions, although, like the snowflake, the details are left to chance. During the past couple of decades there has been a marked shift in favour of the point of view that life is to a certain extent expected and widespread in the universe, but as far as I can tell there is no clear-cut scientific reason for this fashionable belief; it is more a matter of sentiment and fashion.

A complicating factor in these arguments is that “life” is usually left undefined. Whilst I do not wish to provide a comprehensive definition of life here, it is helpful to distinguish between the following possibilities:

1. The only possible life is “life as we know it,” based on nucleic acids and proteins, perhaps with alternative genetic codes, but with the same basic biochemistry. There is only one route to life from one starting point.
2. Life exists only in the basic form we know, but there are many routes to attaining it, from many different starting points. That is, “life” acts rather like an attractor in dynamical systems theory, or the end point of convergent chemical evolution, making it an almost inevitable end state from a wide range of pre-biotic initial conditions.

3. There are many alternative forms of life based on many possible biochemical schemes, perhaps involving molecules other than nucleic acids and proteins, or even elements other than carbon. Similar initial conditions may lead to very different forms of life.

4. There are many alternative forms of life, each of which requires a different route, so across the universe, various initial conditions give rise to various forms of life.

Alternative 1 is consistent with life on Earth being a unique quirk of fate in a universe that is not especially bio-friendly. Alternative 2 implies that the laws of physics and chemistry ingeniously fast-track matter to life, so that a very specific form of life is written into the laws of nature in a fundamental way. This idea seems highly teleological to the point of conspiracy (and reminiscent of supernatural design), although it is obviously logically possible. Alternative 3 implies that life is in some sense not very remarkable or special - almost like an additional state of matter. Alternative 4, beloved of science fiction writers, is the most speculative. It requires that nature is inherently strongly bio-friendly, with the necessary logical architecture not only built in at a basic level, but transcending the specifics of physics and chemistry. It should be mentioned that the subject of Artificial Life⁴, in which lifelike objects are created in computers and allowed to evolve according to simple mathematical rules, also proceeds from the assumption that life is a quasi-universal phenomenon dependent only on an appropriate logical structure, and largely independent of physics and chemistry. We might say in this

case that life is not so much written into the laws of physics, as built into the logic of the universe.

In what follows I shall restrict my remarks to 1 and 2 only, since it is hard enough to explain life as we know it, without speculating about the origin of life as we don't know it.

The chicken and egg problem

A major obstacle in understanding how life originated is sometimes known as the chicken-and-egg problem. Known life is based on an accommodation between two very different classes of molecule – nucleic acids and proteins. DNA and RNA contain the genetic data, that is, they are informational molecules, while proteins act as enzymes to make the necessary reactions go, and also to provide the building material for most of the structures within the cell. Thus nucleic acid serves the role of egg, while proteins are analogous to the chicken. (More scientifically, biologists use the term genotype to refer to the inherited characteristics of an organism, and phenotype to refer to the specific organism itself. Using this analogy, nucleic acids are identified with the genotype and proteins with the phenotype.) Since life as we know it is impossible without both classes of molecule, there is an obvious problem of which came first, “chicken” or “egg”?

Without nucleic acids to encode the manufacturing instructions, proteins don't get made, but without proteins, nucleic acids cannot replicate. Each needs the other. However, both are exceedingly elaborate, specific and delicate forms of molecule. It is hard enough to

imagine one of them forming by chance, but to suppose both nucleic acids and proteins were happy chemical accidents occurring at the same time and place stretches credulity.

Attempts to solve the chicken-and-egg problem divide into three: egg-first, chicken-first and neither-first. I shall review each in turn. All three suppose that there was an extended phase of pre-biotic chemical evolution leading up to life as we know it. It is assumed that known life is a result of successive evolutionary refinements – a sort of high-tech end product of much fine-tuning and adaptation. Life surely began from fumbling low-tech beginnings, limping along with crudely adapted molecules until, over the aeons, more and more improvements were discovered and incorporated. By the time life reached its present form, using nucleic acids and proteins, much, perhaps all, trace of its low-tech origins were obliterated, making it hard for us to discover how life achieved its present ingenious arrangement, and making its existence seem almost a miracle. Cairns-Smith⁵ has used the helpful analogy of a stone arch, which is a self-supporting structure. This too would seem to be an inexplicable state of matter, because every stone depends on every other stone for the arch to hold itself up. The explanation for this seemingly impossible structure lies in the existence of an initial scaffold that is employed to support the stones during the building operation. Once the last stone has been put in place, the scaffold can be removed. The problem in the case of life is to identify the primitive ancient scaffold on which the high-fidelity self-supporting form of life we know today was put together.

Two distinct approaches have been followed in an attempt to discover this “scaffold.” One is to examine the biochemistry of extant organisms for molecular relics of an

ancient, more primitive phase of life. This may provide clues about the earliest stages. The other approach is to start at the bottom and try to synthesise some of the smaller molecules that life uses from chemical mixtures. The ultimate goal of these experiments would be to create some sort of life from scratch in a test tube. Of course, even if this were successful, it would still leave open the question of how life originated in nature, without specialist equipment and trained organic chemists on hand to design delicate procedures. But it would certainly be a start. Unfortunately biochemists are still a very long way from being able to produce *de novo* anything resembling known life.

Biosynthesis experiments

Most of the biosynthesis experiments have concentrated on trying to make only the basic building blocks of life, such as amino acids and nucleotides, from simple chemical mixtures. This programme draws its inspiration from Darwin's original "warm little pond" conjecture⁶. In the 1920s, Haldane⁷ and Oparin⁸ elaborated the idea that an ever-richer brew of chemicals might have formed on the early Earth, either in a lake or in the oceans, from which life was eventually incubated by some as-yet unknown chemical reaction. This became known as the primordial soup theory, and it has had many variations. What all researchers agree on is the crucial importance of liquid water, so whatever the setting and the nature of the chemical brew, an aqueous medium of some sort is essential.

In 1953, in a pioneering experiment, Miller and Urey⁹ set out to re-create a version of the primordial soup in the laboratory. They sealed a mixture of methane, ammonia, hydrogen and water in a flask, and passed an electric spark through it for a week. The experiment was an attempt to simulate what the researchers believed were the conditions that prevailed on the early Earth. At the end of the week, the flask contained many amino acids. Other biochemists have subsequently experimented with their own brands of primordial soup, with varying degrees of success¹⁰.

For a while following the Miller-Urey experiment there arose a feeling that “cooking up” life was just a matter of doing more of the same – sustaining something like those experimental conditions while ever more complex biochemical molecules were produced. Optimists regarded the Miller-Urey experiment as the first step on a road to life, down which a chemical mixture is inexorably conveyed by the passage of time. However, that view now seems misconceived. First, Earth’s primitive atmosphere almost certainly did not have the mix of gases that Miller and Urey used. Life is rich in carbon and hydrogen, but relatively poor in oxygen. Oxygen, in spite of its vital role in advanced life, is a corrosive poison for many organisms, especially many of the archaea and bacteria associated with ancient life. Free oxygen did not build up on Earth until about two billion years ago, a product of extended photosynthesis. Miller and Urey introduced hydrogen directly, and via both methane and ammonia. This formed what chemists term a reducing atmosphere (as opposed to oxidising). Geologists, however, believe that the early Earth had a neutral rather than reducing atmosphere (plentiful carbon dioxide and nitrogen, but little hydrogen). This objection is certainly a problem for traditional primordial soup

theories. However, if life began in a volcanic setting, or deep underground, as I argued in Paper I, reducing conditions are not problematic. Even today, the Earth's crust exudes in certain geothermally active locations reducing gases such as hydrogen, hydrogen sulphide, methane and ammonia.

A more serious objection to the significance of Miller-Urey type experiments is that their principal products – amino acids – are not hard to form anyway. They have since been discovered inside meteorites¹¹, and are being sought by astronomers in comet tails and interstellar clouds, which are known to be rich in organics^{12,13}. They could have been delivered to the Earth (and Mars) in copious quantities by comet and asteroid impacts, rather than being manufactured in situ. The ease of formation of amino acids (and other organic building blocks) has a ready thermodynamic explanation, for creating them from inorganic gases like methane and ammonia is, thermodynamically speaking, a “downhill” process (i.e. strongly favoured, with energy emitted). However, the next step – linking the amino acids together to form long chains (called peptides), the precursors of proteins – is thermodynamically “uphill,” at least in a watery medium. Energy is needed to drive it. In living organisms the necessary energy is provided by carefully customised molecules manufactured by cells. But in a pre-biotic setting, these handy molecules would be absent. There was no lack of available energy sources to drive chemical reactions – for example, sunshine and volcanic heat – but the problem is that heat energy, like most natural sources of energy, is chaotic (unlike the precision of a specialised energised molecule). Since a protein is a delicate, elaborate and highly specific molecule, it is unlikely to form if energy is simply thrown at a mixture of amino acids willy-nilly. The

difficulty can be compared to building a house. Even if a simple process can be used to make the bricks, the bricks must then be assembled into an elaborate and highly specific structure. Heating a collection of amino acids is rather like putting a stick of dynamite under a pile of bricks and hoping that a house results.

The problem is actually far worse than described. A typical small protein contains about a hundred amino acids, strung together in a specific order as instructed by the genome. If the order is changed even slightly, the protein's function may be compromised or rendered totally ineffective. Of the 10^{130} ways in which 100 amino acids of 20 varieties can be arranged, only an exceedingly tiny subset of combinations will be biologically functional. The situation is analogous to the content of a book. If the words of a novel are jumbled up, nonsense is very likely to result. Only a minute fraction of all possible word combinations makes literary sense. Similarly, only a minute fraction of amino acid combinations makes biological sense. Clearly, the chances of hitting the right combination of 100 amino acids by random molecular shuffling are infinitesimal. Since a functioning cell requires thousands of different proteins, it is not credible to suppose they formed by chance alone, even if the entire volume of the observable universe were filled with primordial soup.

On top of all this, there is the problem of chirality¹⁴. Amino acids (and many other organic molecules) possess a definite handedness, that is, they differ structurally from their mirror images. Although left- and right-handed amino acids are chemically equally favoured, life on Earth uses only the left-handed forms. A soup of amino acids would be

expected to contain equal numbers of left and right forms; the odds against a substantial quantity of primordial soup containing only one variety by chance is infinitesimal.

Although physical mechanisms are known¹⁵ that can induce a small chiral excess in a chemical mixture, the way in which this might be translated into a fully homochiral living state is unclear.

We must therefore conclude that not only is the assembly of amino acids into proteins thermodynamically unfavourable, there is also a negligible probability of functional proteins resulting from undirected chemical bonding in a random mixture. Amino acids left to react on their own will never make the specific polypeptide chains that life needs. This makes the “chicken first” theory look decidedly shaky. But proteins are only half the story. What about the “egg” – the nucleic acids?

The RNA world and other theories

Is it possible that nucleic acids preceded proteins and somehow managed to get along without them? In the 1980s, this theory was given a fillip with the discovery¹⁶ that RNA can sometimes act as a weak enzyme, catalysing some reactions between other strands of RNA. This has led to the so-called RNA world scenario^{17,18}, according to which RNA (being chemically more potent than DNA) originally served as both chicken and egg – phenotype and genotype - promoting vital reactions and at the same time storing genetic information. At some stage, the theory goes, the RNA world co-opted polypeptide chains to improve the efficiency of replication. Darwinian selection would then have favoured

the more efficient replicators, and in that manner the close partnership between nucleic acids and proteins gradually became forged. The step from RNA to the more familiar DNA, and thus to life as we know it, would then have been comparatively straightforward.

The RNA world theory is not without its problems, however. It has to be explained where the RNA came from in the first place. Nucleic acids are, if anything, harder to synthesise than proteins. They are also rather delicate molecules. In living cells, RNA strands typically contain thousands of building blocks (called nucleotides). It is inconceivable that such large molecules would form naturally in a primordial soup. On the other hand, the RNA world might have formed an intermediate stage in the development of life. Perhaps a completely different chemical system preceded the RNA world and manufactured it as a by-product, eventually being displaced by it?

A theory of this sort has been proposed by Cairns-Smith⁵. According to his scheme, the first steps on the road to life were taken by clay crystals. Crystals are, of course, adept replicators, but in their pure form they contain almost no information (a crystal is a regular array of atoms). However, impurities in the crystalline structure could be used to encode information. To serve as a crude genome, an impure crystal would have to grow and fragment in such a way as to preserve the impurity sequences. Cairns-Smith has suggested certain mineral structures that might do this. The transition from clay life to nucleic acid life remains largely conjectural in this theory.

Ghadiri and his colleagues¹⁹ have turned the RNA world theory on its head, and claimed that proteins could also serve as both chicken and egg, that is, some proteins are able to replicate and pass on information. Other researchers have been of the opinion that solving the problem of replication should take second place after accounting for metabolism, and have sought models of chemical cycles that might act to harness energy and drive a chemical soup to greater and greater complexity. Kauffman²⁰ has developed a theory of autocatalytic networks, in which a set of molecules react in such a way that some molecules catalyse their own formation, producing a complex web of interactions that serves to bring about increasingly elaborate molecular self-organisation. Dyson²¹ has produced a theory in which a collection of protein-like molecules can undergo a crude form of reproduction en masse. Morowitz²² has tried to identify the core chemical cycle within primitive organisms to see how it may have come into existence spontaneously in a pre-biotic phase.

All theories of biogenesis face additional challenges to explain how the chemical schemes being proposed became incorporated into cells with membranes having the right physical and chemical properties, and to identify the precise setting in which the key reactions took place. Oparin⁸ was impressed by the way that a mixture of oil and water can form a so-called coacervate in which the oil retreats into tiny cell-like droplets, and was convinced that the cellular structure came first, and the complex organic chemistry then took place within this natural “test tube”. But there are other possibilities too. There are distinct advantages to moving the setting from the traditional location - a primordial soup on the Earth’s surface - to a hot, deep place, such as near a volcanic vent, or beneath

the ocean floor, where seawater percolates through the porous basalt and brings up dissolved gases and minerals by convection. I have already mentioned the desirable reducing conditions that are normal there. But there are other chemical advantages too. The tiny pores of rock can serve as rudimentary cells, while their surfaces act as powerful catalysts promoting the synthesis of complex organic molecules. Also, as mentioned in Paper I, there is good evidence that early life dwelt in this subsurface region, so it is an obvious location to consider for biogenesis. Such a location is a natural setting for the theory of Wächterhäuser²³, who believes that the surface of the common mineral iron pyrites (fool's gold, which forms from hydrogen sulphide and iron) will catalyse the polymerisation of amino acids, and perhaps generate more complex organic structures too, including replicating molecules.

Finally, there is a general point worth mentioning that is often overlooked. Because replication is an exponential process, if life were to form in a finite reservoir of suitable material, it would rapidly use up the available resources, and grind to a halt. Theories that life might form inside comets²⁴, for example, encounter this problem. Life can evolve beyond the first step only if there is a *throughput* of energy and material. The advantage of a seabed setting (on Earth or Mars) is the existence of a continual flux of convecting fluid coming up from the deeper zone. Since life is unable to penetrate more than a few kilometres into the crust, on account of the fact that the temperature becomes intolerably high, there is no danger that the supply of material will be promptly exhausted by invasion of the first organisms²⁵.

Outstanding conceptual problems

Most theories of biogenesis have concentrated on the chemistry of life. However, life is more than just complex chemical reactions. The cell is also an information storing, processing and replicating system. We need to explain the origin of this information, and the way in which the information processing machinery came to exist. It is important to realise that a gene is a set of coded instructions for the manufacture of a protein according to a precise recipe. Genetic instructions are not merely information per se (as arises in, for example, thermodynamics and statistical mechanics), but represent a form of *semantic* information, i.e. they have to *mean* something²⁶. For a genetic instruction to be successful, there has to be a molecular milieu capable of interpreting the message in the genetic code. The problem of how meaningful or semantic information can emerge spontaneously from a collection of mindless molecules subject to blind and purposeless forces presents a deep conceptual challenge.

Related to this puzzle is the problem of how digital control emerged from analogue processes. The cell uses digital information to communicate between nucleic acids and proteins. The flow of information from DNA and RNA to proteins via a coded information channel is effectively the way engineers use digital control to boost the fidelity of electronic devices. It is well known that digital computation, digital radio, digital data storage, digital cameras, digital television and so on are far more efficient than their analogue counterparts. Life went digital at the dawn of time, by using, not a binary, but a quaternary coding system to store bits of information. So the central process

of life – DNA and RNA instructing proteins – takes place not directly, through “hard-wired” chemical bonds, but via digital software. So another way of looking at the problem of biogenesis is to ask how the molecular hardware wrote its own software. How did this ingenious coded communication system evolve?¹⁸

What about the origin of the genetic information itself? Where did the specific bits of information stored in the genome of the first living cell come from?²⁷ After all, information cannot come out of thin air. There is a powerful mechanism for generating information in physical systems, in the form of Darwinian evolution by variation and selection. The information in the human genome, for example, has accumulated by Darwinian processes over billions of years. However, Darwinism cuts in only when life has got going; we cannot appeal to Darwinian evolution to explain how life began.

Some researchers think it is a case of “Darwinism all the way down.” That is, we can define life to be any system capable of replication, variation and selection. It need not amount to anything we would normally recognize as life. It could be simply a set of fairly small molecules that might form by chance in a plausible pre-biotic setting. It is possible to imagine that once such a collection of replicators exists, molecular Darwinism would do the rest³, evolving ever more complex and sophisticated replicating systems, until something like the RNA world appears.

Unfortunately the identity of these hypothetical simple replicators remains unknown, and the efficacy of molecular Darwinism is largely untested. Nor is it clear to what extent

chemical self-organization may rivalled Darwinism in the early stages of biogenesis. It is even conceivable that quantum mechanical effects may have played a key role^{28,29}. A fully satisfactory account of the origin of biological information will probably have to await a better understanding of the nature and dynamics of information, and how it relates to matter. Thus a solution of the problem of biogenesis is likely to involve some profound developments in the conceptual basis of physical science³⁰.

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